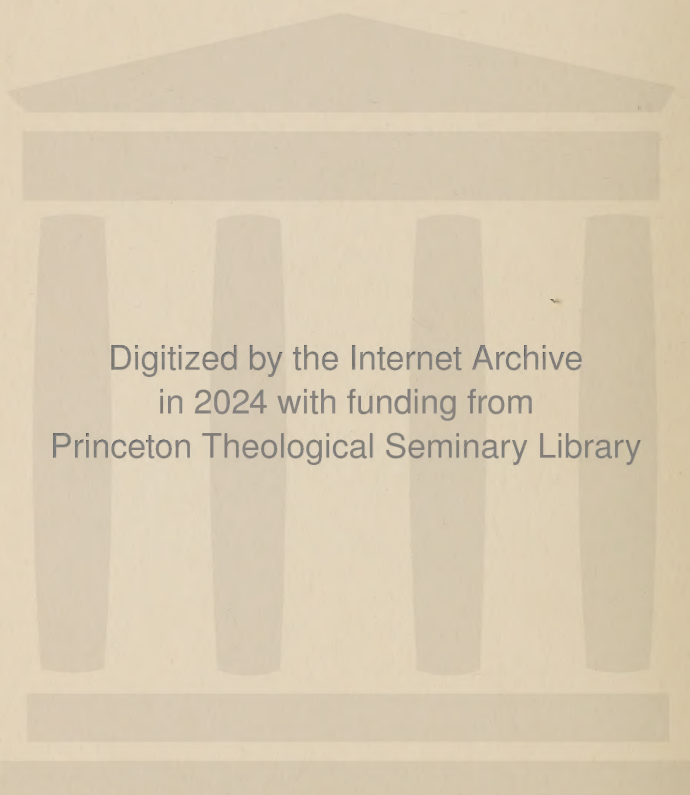




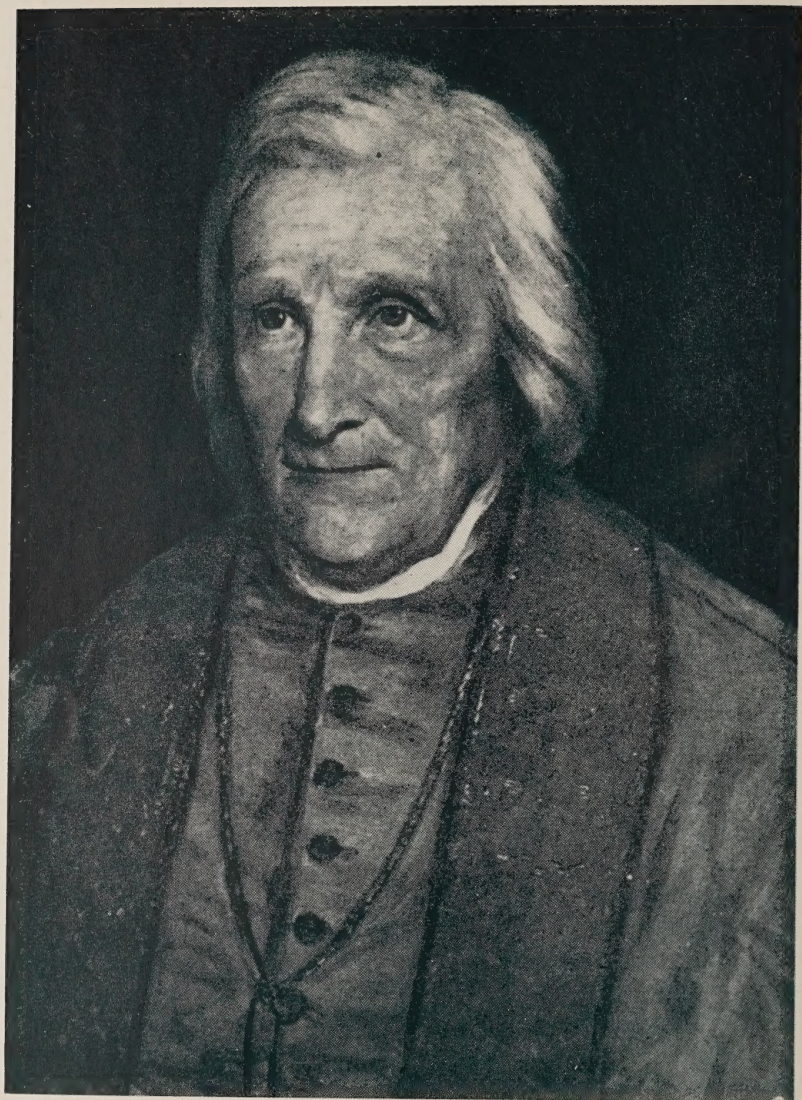
BX 4705 .F59 S34 1952
Schauinger, J. Herman 1912-
1971.

Cathedrals in the wilderness;



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2024 with funding from
Princeton Theological Seminary Library

**CATHEDRALS
IN THE
WILDERNESS**



(From Guilday, *Life and Times of John Carroll*, Vol. II)

Benedict Joseph Flaget

LIBRARY OF THE
MAR 11 1913
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

Cathedrals in the Wilderness

Benedict Joseph Flaget

BY J. HERMAN ✓ SCHAUINGER

COLLEGE OF ST. THOMAS

THE BRUCE PUBLISHING COMPANY
MILWAUKEE

Nihil obstat:

JOHN A. SCHULIEN, S.T.D.

Censor librorum

Imprimatur:

✝ MOYSES E. KILEY

Archiepiscopus Milwauchiensis

Die 21 Aprilis, 1952

Copyright, 1952, THE BRUCE PUBLISHING COMPANY

MADE IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

(Second Printing — 1952)

To
MARGARET

“Who is it that says most? Which can say more
Than this rich praise, that you alone are you?”

(From the Sonnets of W. S.)

Foreword

WHEN, in 1790, John Carroll was consecrated first Roman Catholic bishop, his see embraced the entire United States. Twenty years later four new dioceses were added to that of Baltimore, and John Carroll was made the first archbishop of the United States. One of these new dioceses was Bardstown, Kentucky, the first see west of the Allegheny Mountains, which included territory that is today some thirty-five dioceses in the states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Indiana, Ohio, Missouri, Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois, and also included parts of Arkansas, Minnesota, and Iowa. The episcopal see was at Bardstown, because it was then a focal point of Catholicism in the Old West. Here, before the coming of the bishop, were two of the most remarkable missionaries in the United States, Stephen T. Badin and Charles Nerinckx.

The first bishop of the West, Benedict Joseph Flaget, consecrated by Carroll in 1810, was a worthy companion and superior of these two. His life as bishop of Bardstown and Louisville from 1810 to 1850 is one of the most interesting chapters in American Church history. He lived during a period which witnessed the greatest growth of the Catholic Church in the United States, and he himself took a most active part in its development. His was one of the most influential voices in the councils of the Church, in the creation of the new dioceses and in the appointment of their incumbents during this fruitful period. He, himself, was to consecrate, by 1840, three of the archbishops of Baltimore and four of the bishops of the new western sees. Around him was gathered, at a very early date, a group of ecclesiastical figures that would have honored any period of history. This Bardstown Group developed by its leadership an American Catholic culture that was not only to spread over the Middle West but was also to return to the East.

Its influence on education was marked and widespread; several governors of Southern states, as well as Congressmen and other public officials, were educated in institutions under its leadership. From it came many bishops — John David, Guy Chabrat, Martin J. Spalding, Edward D. Fenwick, Francis Patrick Kenrick, Ignatius Reynolds, Richard P. Miles, Simon Lalumière, Joseph Alemany, John McGill. Robert Abell, perhaps the best known, was only one of the many able priests shaped by the skillful hands of the superior of the seminary, Bishop David. The faith and zeal of the Catholics of the Louisville diocese attest to the foundations laid by these men. The religious establishments, the seminary, the Cathedral, the sisterhoods, the religious orders, the institutions of education soon became the wonder of the Catholic world and the envy of the hierarchy. Neither erudite nor scholarly, Bishop Flaget proved to be a skillful administrator, an active architect, and a very holy bishop, the "Patriarch of the West."

Some ten years ago, in 1941, Professor Bernard Mayo, the eminent historian and biographer of Henry Clay, now at the University of Virginia, edited some letters of Flaget to Clay. Dr. Mayo said then:

But he [Mayo] cannot refrain from calling attention to the need of a good biographical study of Benedict Joseph Flaget. Such a biography, following the trail blazed a hundred years ago by Archbishop Spalding, and utilizing the source material which has since become available, would be a notable contribution to Catholic Americana and to the general history of the formative Middle Period. It would do justice not only to Bishop Flaget's achievements as a teacher, as a missionary, and as the founder and administrator of flourishing institutions, but also to his splendid personal qualities: his gentleness of spirit, his unassuming simplicity, his affection for Kentucky and his dear Kentuckians, his warm love of America.

This present biography attempts to place Flaget in the center of the Bardstown Group. It does not develop any remarkable new thesis of American Catholic history. That is neither a purpose nor a pretense. The author was impressed by two recent inaugural addresses of the Presidents of the American Historical Association, Conyers Read and Thomas J. Wertenbaker. These scholars pointed

out to the many assembled historians that all too often the professional historian writes only for his fellow historians. They urged their colleagues to use the accumulated knowledge and special historical skills for the benefit of the ordinary reader instead of leaving this entirely to the amateur historian.

The name of Flaget is almost entirely unknown to any but the specialist because the books about him are unavailable today except in collections of historical societies and in rare-book rooms. Other references to him appear only in the journals intended for the craft. Martin J. Spalding, third coadjutor bishop to Flaget, wrote his *Early Catholic Missions of Kentucky* in 1844 and his *Sketches of the Life, Work, and Character of Benedict Joseph Flaget* in 1852. These two books are source works because they are based on the lost journals of Flaget. The more modern works, B. J. Webb's *Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky* (1884) and Sister Columba Fox's *Life of Bishop John B. M. David* (1925) are also practically inaccessible because of their rarity and expense. Most of the special studies in American Catholic history, such as Sister M. Ramona Mattingly's *The Catholic Church on the Kentucky Frontier, 1785-1812*, and Thomas McAvoy's *The Catholic Church in Indiana* are out of print and difficult to find.

One of the outstanding differences between this biography of Flaget and that of Bishop Spalding's is the use of the letters of Flaget, David, and others which were not available to the biographer a hundred years ago. Spalding used Flaget's journals in page after page, but these did not reveal the man as do his letters. To the year 1811, for instance, Spalding gives one sentence covering the events after the arrival of the Bishop in Kentucky; by the use of the letters I have filled the events of that important year in some twelve pages. Although perhaps more than three thousand letters to Flaget have disappeared along with the very valuable journals, yet there remain hundreds of letters written by Flaget and David. The bulk of these, almost entirely in French, are at the University of Notre Dame Archives, the Baltimore Cathedral Archives, and St. Mary's Seminary Archives, Baltimore. A few are found scattered in other depositories, such as the mother houses of the Sisters of Loretto and Sisters of Nazareth,

the Boston Archdiocese Archives, the Indiana Historical Society, the Burton Historical Collection, Detroit, etc. These letters were written mostly to Bishop Bruté, to the archbishops of Baltimore, and to the Sulpician colleagues of the Kentucky bishops.

Obviously, this is not a definitive study of the life and mind of the Bardstown Group. Too many difficulties make that object hazardous. Too often such a project reaches the same fate that limits the search for perfection. The canvas is too large, the talents of the painter too scant. Nor is this a history of the Church in Kentucky; it is concerned with the life and influence of Flaget and those around him in the old West. To show, in these days, that a Frenchman and a Catholic could be a great American and could contribute more to the culture and social welfare of the United States than a thousand native born Nativists is a contribution. To give the ordinary Catholic some idea of what has made Catholic history, tradition, and culture a great and enduring heritage is worth the time and effort. It is to be regretted that the man who was such an exact copy of his gentle divine Master, who stimulated emulation on the part of the hierarchy, who set all France agog, who aroused the admiration of the College of Cardinals and the affection of several popes, and who was even credited with working miracles, lives in so few memories today. Even in his own diocese this is true. It is even more regrettable that the path of the Catholic historian, whose sole object is the better understanding of our great culture and its contributions, often meets obstacles that are caused by lack of understanding. Because the source material of Catholic history is scarce, since much has been irrevocably lost, that which remains is so precious to the better understanding of that history that no motive of sensitivity ought to guide a limitation of its use.

Frequently, in the course of this work, I have found that, after countless trials, no recasting of the words of one of the actors could present the desired effect. The real flavor, the proper mood, the unique expression is often found only in an exact quotation. To attempt to paraphrase the petition of the sincere and unlettered people for a priest, would mean the loss of most interesting colloquialism, and the document is inspirational to the present

reader. If I have quoted at some length it is because I felt the quotation was worth preservation. Often the very words, expressions, or tone of the letter give not only a better picture of the writer, but also present better the period and its background.

To archivists, librarians, and historians I owe the same debt that all historical writers incur. Among the many who aided me one way or another in my researches in Washington, D. C., Kentucky, Maryland, Indiana, etc., were: my own family in Indianapolis, Indiana; the Ira D. Howards of South Bend, Indiana; Joseph Garnier, Elizabeth P. Herbermann, Marcella Schoeppner, Louise Gradstein, John Tashjean, Joseph Clements, Dr. Mary Keeffe, Rev. Thomas Dolan, Rev. Dennis Hines, Rev. Victor L. Goossens, and the Rev. Wm. O'Shea of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore. Sister Matilda of Loretto and Sister M. Ramona Mattingly of Nazareth were especially helpful in placing their knowledge and resources at my disposal. Rev. Paul Love, archivist of the Baltimore Cathedral Archives, was most generous of his time and patience. Without the assistance of the Rev. Thomas T. McAvoy, archivist of Notre Dame, and his able staff this book would not have been possible as the bulk of the Flaget and David letters are under his charge. His expert and generous help makes the archives of Notre Dame a haven for students of Catholic Americana.

Especially am I obligated to the Rev. Thomas Shanahan who has opened to me all the resources and facilities of the St. Paul Seminary Library; to my generous colleagues of the faculty of the College of St. Thomas, including Dr. William O'Donnell, Dr. Robert Fogerty, Dr. Heinrich Rommen, Dr. Harold Jaffee, Dr. Henri Du Lac, Dr. Herbert Willging, Mr. George Snell, and Mrs. Marian Heitzman; and to the Very Rev. Vincent J. Flynn, president of the College of St. Thomas, who has given me unfailing support and encouragement in this as in all my work. Mr. Joseph Gabler, of St. Thomas College, read the entire manuscript with a critical eye and expert judgment.

My wife, Margaret Jones Schauinger, has perhaps found a better understanding of the religion she embraced through the life and inspiration of Flaget and his friends than in any learned dogmatic tome. That may be her reward for the hundreds of hours she

spent translating from the French, typing the entire manuscript, offering suggestions and corrections, making an index, all in the midst of full-time household work and the cares of four small children. My father-in-law, John R. Jones, Toledo amateur photographer par excellence, helped make the time spent in research months shorter by his patient and expert developing and printing of hundreds of 8 by 10 copies of the letters I used for source material. Professor William A. Caine, of the College of St. Thomas, whose generosity to both his colleagues and a generation of students is equaled only by his knowledge of foreign language and literature, also has lightened my task to such an extent that Providence seems to direct it. To those who have made this book possible by a special grant-in-aid, no adequate expression of gratitude is possible, but it can be hoped that the publication will not lead to disappointment.

J. HERMAN SCHAUINGER

College of St. Thomas

Contents

FOREWORD	.	.	.	.	vii
ONE	.	.	.	.	1
TWO	.	.	.	.	16
THREE	.	.	.	.	42
FOUR	.	.	.	.	58
FIVE	.	.	.	.	73
SIX	.	.	.	.	102
SEVEN	.	.	.	.	132
EIGHT	.	.	.	.	161
NINE	.	.	.	.	196
TEN	.	.	.	.	234
ELEVEN	.	.	.	.	258
TWELVE	.	.	.	.	290
EPILOGUE	.	.	.	.	305
FOOTNOTES	.	.	.	.	313
BIBLIOGRAPHY	.	.	.	.	325
INDEX	.	.	.	.	329

CATHEDRALS
IN THE
WILDERNESS

One

THERE was a man sent from God, whose name was Benedict Joseph Flaget. As he came across the crest of the Allegheny Mountains that spring of 1792, on his way from Baltimore to Pittsburgh, he might have paused with a certain weariness to contemplate the strangeness of his surroundings. A young French Roman Catholic priest, but a few months in this wonderful new republic, his only companion the rough American frontiersman whose wagon he shared on the long, hard journey, he would have been the last to see in his own person the first bishop of the West. To him then would have seemed impossible the almost incredible feats of travel, hardship, and accomplishments of half a century. But his thoughts were not of such nature; his dreams were of the Faith he would bring to these people of America. He could remember almost word for word the letter Bishop John Carroll had shown him when asking him to go to that distant little wilderness town called Post Vincennes. Its plea for a priest had been poignant, and Benedict thought of it often as he rode in the jarring wagon. It was a manifestation of God's will, and also a revelation of the deep need of the people and especially the lonely Catholics too long deprived of a shepherd. These would be among the first to know that God was beginning to answer those prayers for priests which were constantly coming to Bishop Carroll.

The two months he had spent in Baltimore after his arrival from France had given him opportunity to learn some English as well as to become acquainted with the first bishop of the United States. He often thought of those last days in March which had seen the beginning of his adventures in the New World — of the first

sight of Philadelphia, of the trip over to Baltimore, of starting out of the house with his two companions, Father David and Mr. Badin, to pay their respects to the Bishop who was already walking over to see them. On this arduous trip over the mountains he prayed often that he might be worthy of his high calling, and he thought frequently of the need for priests and of the dilemma faced by the Bishop in trying to decide where to send the few available.

Pittsburgh was the first stop. He would rest here a few days, presenting Carroll's letter of introduction to General Anthony Wayne. Perhaps the General could aid him in finding passage for the rest of the trip. The General proved kind to the young priest, and soon the two were on very friendly terms. Flaget took a room with a French Huguenot, who was most considerate even to the point of allowing him to offer Mass in his house. Day after day, for a time, Benedict went down to the river to see whether it was any higher, for the flatboats would not go down the Ohio while it was so low. Then came the smallpox and he had no time to do anything but visit the sick and dying. Each night he threw himself into bed exhausted from his daily grind; he had no time then to see if the river was higher or lower. Once in a while he saw General Wayne, and he acted as chaplain to the troops whenever necessary. Wayne was training hard for the Indian campaign, trying to make soldiers. To impress upon his army that it was war and not a frontier frolic, he had sentenced four deserters to death, and Flaget had the unpleasant task of preparing them for eternity. Out of this came an ironic incident. One of the four was entirely hardhearted, and because the priest could not touch that impious heart he felt that the soldier's soul would be lost. This made Flaget so disconsolate that Mad Anthony had to pardon the soldier in order to give the priest peace of mind. However, the other three faced the firing squad and gave the army its lesson.¹

After six months of these things the rains came, and the Ohio River was once again high enough for flatboats. Flaget finally left Pittsburgh in November and was down in Louisville at the end of the month. Here at this little settlement, really only a few cabins on the river near the falls, Flaget met Gabriel Richard and Michael Levadoux. These two priests, also just over from

France, were on the way to mission posts. Flaget went to confession to one, not knowing when his next opportunity might come. At Louisville Flaget met young lieutenant William Clark, and presented to him a letter of introduction from Wayne.² Clark, too, was drawn to the young priest, and a lifelong friendship began with their trip together from Louisville to Vincennes. There on December 21, after pleasant days together, Flaget reached his first post in the United States.

Vincennes was not the place it had been before the Americans came, and the change had not been for the better. Flaget found the church in a dilapidated state, a reflection of the spiritual and temporal condition of the people. Of the seven hundred Catholics, just twelve approached the Communion rail on the feast of Christmas. Materially the people of Vincennes were living little better than the Indians of the vicinity. Flaget immediately started various projects to improve their living conditions. He worked among them indefatigably day after day and often far into the night. He bought a farm and there began a "normal school" for boys, teaching them various trades. From this he would go on to watch the women at their looms, which he had had made for them. He tried to get the members of various households interested in making articles of wear, in all types of domestic manufactures; he went out to the farms and encouraged the farmers to work harder, to plant more crops. He served them in every way possible, acting as judge in their disputes, as executor for their widows, as nurse for their ill. Meanwhile he was quietly and diplomatically working for a spiritual revival by the teaching of Catechism, and by integrating their lives into that of the Church. As the children began to talk of these things and about the priest with their parents, the people almost unconsciously effected a reformation of their own lives. The church was repaired and on Sundays was filled to capacity. The elders began to approach the sacraments. Flaget received no salary, and in fact gave away to his parishioners his own clothes and whatever else he had, excepting his books which he tried to study at rare intervals of rest. At Vincennes too he had to meet the smallpox. In 1793 death took seventy-six of his

parishioners, and in October he himself was down with it. For a time it seemed that he would die, but he slowly recovered. The Miamis and other Indian tribes around the town were also afflicted, so Flaget went out to them, nursing them and baptizing those that he could. His pity and sympathy for the Indians were so deep that he wrote Carroll offering to devote himself entirely to them if the Bishop could send another priest for Vincennes. He gave himself with the same abandon to the Negro slaves. His ceaseless activity, in and out of the plague, gave the residents of Vincennes an animated eloquence when speaking of him, and when he returned for a visitation as bishop a couple of decades later the excitement in the village was not caused totally by his office. Rather they remembered his deeds among them.

His worst trial, however, was the lack of a priest to hear his own confession. For this purpose, once or twice a year, he would make the long trip to Kaskaskias or other distant points. This was not without its dangers; the Indians later related they could have often killed the "Blackgown" but refrained from doing so. After he had completely reformed the community and had reached the point wherein he could feel some satisfaction over his accomplishments his superiors recalled him to Baltimore. On April 23, 1795, there is recorded in the parish register his last official act, a baptism. In order to escape the ordeal of parting from these devoted villagers, he slipped away with no intimation on his part that he would not return. It was only when his saddened escort returned alone that the people learned he had left them. He went on down to New Orleans and from there returned to Baltimore by sea. Three times did the parish of Vincennes send pleas to the Bishop asking him to return Flaget, but this was not in Carroll's power; had it been, he would not have removed him in the first place. Flaget, however, was not directly responsible to the Bishop, but to the superior of the Society of St. Sulpice.

The Society had arrived in the United States but a short three years before, with the idea of establishing a seminary for the training of the priests Bishop Carroll so badly needed. For well over a century and a half the Sulpicians had devoted themselves to this work, and at the time of the Revolution most of the

seminaries of France were under their direction, as well as one in Montreal. It may seem almost symbolic that from the country which had aided the United States most during the American Revolution there also should come a band of devoted men under one banner who would give the most aid in the beginning of the American Catholic Church. The traditions of the Sulpicians were already made when they began this era, for in the time of St. Vincent de Paul their foundation had been laid. In 1641, after a long period of planning, Father John James Olier founded a quasi society of clerics whose sole function was the training of priests. Olier was so humble he did not wish to distinguish the organization with even a name, and the Society of St. Sulpice received its name from the parish of St. Sulpice wherein their first house was located. The seminary movement spread rapidly in France, and the society was soon organized formally. At the time Flaget sought entry into its ranks, in 1783, at the age of twenty years, it had just elected as superior-general one of its most outstanding leaders, Father James Andrew Emery.³

It was Emery who began the train of events leading to the establishment of the Sulpicians in the United States. The French Revolution and its attack on religion determined him to found a house in a foreign country, to have a place of refuge if needed. At the time this decision was made Carroll was on his way to England for his episcopal consecration. The papal nuncio at Paris informed Emery of the erection of the new See of Baltimore, and suggested that he establish a seminary there, if the new Bishop was agreeable. Letters were soon exchanged between Carroll and Emery, with the latter finally sending Father Nagot to London to arrange details of the matter with the Bishop. Gouverneur Morris, the American minister at Paris, helped them to transfer sufficient funds to Baltimore. A few months after Carroll returned from England the first bands of Sulpicians followed. In April, 1791, in a chartered ship, the first American superior, Father Francis Charles Nagot, set out with a group of three other priests: John M. Tessier, Anthony Garnier, and Michael Levadoux — and five seminarians. They reached Baltimore July 10, 1791, and bought a house near the Bishop's residence. In March of 1792 came Father

Chicoisneau, Father John David, Father Benedict J. Flaget, and two seminarians, Badin and Barret, to be followed three months later by Fathers Ambrose Maréchal, Gabriel Richard, and Francis Ciquard.

Although the Sulpicians had quickly set to work so that they were ready to open their doors by October, 1791, students came very slowly to the institution. In fact, before the close of the year, two of those who had accompanied them from France left the seminary. Their first students were foreigners, Badin, Barret, and the Russian Prince Demetrius Gallitzin, who was ordained in 1795 and made his great reputation in Pennsylvania. The first American student, William Matthews, came in 1797 and was ordained three years later. For months at a time the seminary had no students, and there was no need to keep all the priests there. So Carroll, with the permission of Emery, sent some out as missionaries. Father David took care of several missions in lower Maryland, and Father Maréchal labored in the same state. One was sent to Maine, two or three to the Illinois country, and three took over parishes in Baltimore. At different intervals several taught at the newly established Georgetown College.⁴

However, missionary work was not the purpose of the Society, and when the seminary showed no appreciable progress the foundation was regarded as a failure. Father Emery began to worry lest these Sulpicians in America be lost to the Society and he did not feel they were doing the duty for which they had been ordained. With the reopening of the seminaries of France in 1802 he began considering the recall of the twelve in the Baltimore diocese. Fathers Garnier, Levadoux, and Maréchal went home in 1803. The Society then tried to establish an ordinary college, but Bishop Carroll opposed this as dangerous to the existence of Georgetown. No little anxiety was caused to the Bishop when Emery finally decided to recall the entire group. The two exchanged several sharp letters on the affair, both realizing the responsibilities of the other. When Pope Pius VII was in Paris Emery asked his advice, and His Holiness urged him to allow the American seminary to stand. Father Nagot continued as superior until 1810 when Father Tessier took over.

Up to 1815 some thirty priests had been ordained there for the entire United States.

In 1808 the Sulpicians, under the direction of Father John Dubois, opened at Emmitsburg, Mt. St. Mary's college. The activities of these Sulpicians aided the Bishop of the United States very materially just at the time most needed. From their ranks came several of the first bishops of the country. There are those who regarded these selections as unfortunate because it robbed the Catholic educational system of its best talent, and some have felt that many of these bishops were not well enough acquainted with the American habitant. At least they had lived in the United States. Be that as it may, there was not too wide a choice until well after Carroll's death.

A survey of the state of Catholicism in the United States just after the American Revolution is necessary in order to reveal the appreciable progress made under Carroll. At the time John Carroll was appointed Prefect-Apostolic in 1784, the Church of the United States was formally separated from that of England, and was placed under the direct jurisdiction of the Congregation of the Propaganda. In his report to Rome on the state of religion in the United States Carroll stated that there were nineteen priests in Maryland and five in Pennsylvania. Of these twenty-four, two were more than seventy years old and three were approaching that age. Several were in bad health, and one would have been deprived of his faculties in a normal situation. Most of them were members of the suppressed Jesuit society. Carroll was unable to give, of course, any exact figure of the Catholic population. He estimated that there were 15,800 in Maryland of whom about 3000 were Negro slaves. His report stated that Pennsylvania held 7000 and that very few of these would be slaves; that there might be 1500 in New York, but no more than 200 in Virginia. He felt there must be many in the Mississippi Valley region, especially of French extraction, but there was no way of knowing anything about them, nor if there were priests there.

One of Carroll's chief worries in this period prior to the adoption of the Constitution, was the matter of civil disability which might be revived against the Catholics. In only four states were Catholics

given all the rights of citizenship, and disabilities were not removed in individual states by the adoption of the Constitution of 1787. However, the main body of Catholics lived in the states of Maryland, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Virginia, and Delaware, where there were no qualifying clauses against them. Carroll also reported that although the American Catholics did not neglect their duties, they had little religious fervor. The main reason for this was the lack of priests, for many Catholic communities had the services of a priest but once or twice a year. Because of this factor, with no educational facilities and almost no churches, it was no wonder that prior to this time not all had kept the Faith, that many had joined other churches. The contempt expressed toward the Catholic religion also caused the weaker to hide his religious identity. Many an immigrant, before the American Revolution, was absorbed into the religion of his community, with the next generation unaware that their ancestors, or even parents, had been tinged with the Papish taint.

With the end of the Revolution, the influence of the French Catholic troops especially upon the educated upper classes began to mitigate the prejudice of such leaders as John Jay, John Adams, and others like them. The influence of the federal and some state constitutions and the removal of many disabilities, with the beginning of a greater Catholic immigration, presented Catholic life in a brighter light. The problems met by John Carroll as Prefect-Apostolic soon convinced him and his confreres of the necessity of a greater authority, and despite some opposition among the priests due to peculiar problems, it was decided to appeal to Rome for a bishop. The petition asked for the privilege of electing their own prelate for, as Carroll and others were to point out constantly, the American mind viewed with suspicion any foreign intrusion upon its institutions. The Roman authorities looked with great sympathy on the American Church and its problems and the request was granted. Carroll, and later his coadjutors, were elected by the American clergy and presented for papal approbation. John Carroll was consecrated in England on August 15, 1790, by Bishop Charles Walmesley, O.S.B. The ceremony took place in Lulworth Castle chapel on the Weld estate and although

the Welds saw to it that the ritual was carried out with all possible beauty there were no other bishops present, the consecrator being assisted by two priests.⁵

Bishop Carroll's problems began even before he had left England. During his episcopate of twenty-five years probably one of his greatest difficulties was the dearth of priests in the vast diocese of the United States. This scarcity was partially relieved by the immigration of Irish priests and the exile of the French priests by the Revolution in that nation. Yet this increase in numbers brought its own special perplexities, for some of these priests were turbulent characters. The association of these unruly clerics with lay trustees, who were imbued with the frontier democratic spirit and who wished to pattern the Church along Protestant lines in terms of authority caused real trouble. This was to break out in open schism in several congregations from Philadelphia to Charleston. Cardinal Antonelli's phrase in his letter of congratulation to Carroll, "Impose not lightly hands on any man but enlist among the clergy only such as have given proof of piety and learning in the seminary," was followed as far as possible. However, the Bishop could not always determine the future conduct of even recommended priests from abroad. Despite occasional contention among the Irish and French priests the picture of American Catholicism at Carroll's death in 1815 was entirely different from what it had been even twenty years before. The number of Catholics had steadily increased, so that Archbishop Maréchal in his survey could claim some ninety thousand, while the number of priests had likewise increased to over ninety east of the Mississippi. Even though Maréchal's report may be controvertible, the numbers here given cannot be very far wrong.⁶ Catholicism had spread out of its original bounds. Kentucky may not have been typical of its growth, but it certainly revealed its possibilities.

In the beginning the Catholics that went into Kentucky came almost entirely from Maryland, and especially from St. Mary's, Charles, and Prince George Counties. During and immediately after the Revolutionary War "the Kentucky fever" was comparable to the "Oregon fever" of a half century later. The Catholics began going in groups as a result of neighborhood pacts. The first Catho-

lics to immigrate into Kentucky seem to have been William Coomes and his family and Dr. George Hart, who in 1775 were at Harrod's Station. Dr. Hart was one of the earliest physicians in the state, and Mrs. Coomes opened what was perhaps the only elementary school in Kentucky. Catholics were among those who withstood the four-year Indian siege of Harrodstown. The first real Catholic colony, consisting of some twenty-five families, came from Maryland before summer in 1785 and established the famous Pottinger's Creek settlement, a few miles from Bardstown. They had followed the commonly traveled immigrant route across the Alleghenies to Pittsburgh, down the Ohio River to the district around what is now Louisville, and then across country to the nearest habitations.⁷

From Goodwin's station, a fortified post some thirteen miles from their lands, the men set forth to lay out their farms and to build crude cabins before winter came. Their land was some of the poorest in Kentucky, but having made down payments they were forced to remain. The leader of this first enterprise was a Basil Hayden. Among these Catholics at Pottinger's Creek were Philip Lee, whose farm was next to Hayden's; Stephen Elliot, noted for his immense stature; Ignatius Cissell, with his four sons; Ignatius, John, and William Bowles; the widow, Monica Hagan, who came to Kentucky with her three sons; James Dant, known for his charity; and then there was Clement Johnson, whose fiddle was of much renown in the settlement. It was not long before the priests began to frown at Clem's fiddle, for sometimes it provided the music that kept the parishioners dancing far into the night when they should have been at confession. Johnson tried to make up for this by accompanying the choir at Sunday Mass.⁸

Some others on this roll of fame were: Leonard Johnson, Henry McAtee, James Mollihorne, Stanislaus Melton, Harry Hill, John Hutchins, Isaac Thawles, John Spalding, William Mahony, Henry Lucas, James Queen, Bernard Nally, James Stevens, Ignatius French, Washington Boone, Francis Bryan, Jeremiah Wathen, Walter Burch, Philip Mattingly, Urban Speaks, Joseph Edelin, Joseph Howe, Francis Peak, and the Mudds. The first board of trustees organized to secure Catholic church property was composed of William Bald, Bernard Cissell, Charles Payne, and Wil-

liam Brewer. They signed an indenture in 1798 to secure the land upon which Holy Cross Church was built. It was from the families of these first Catholics in Kentucky that the first priests and nuns of Kentucky came. Many of these pioneers lived to a very advanced age, like John Downs, who died at 104 years, and Mary Clark, who reached 95 years.

About ten miles east of the Pottinger's Creek settlement came the second one, noted as that of Hardin's Creek. The first settlers there are supposed to have been Edward Beaven and his brother. Then followed the four Cissell brothers, Matthew being the best known. William, Leonard, and Lucas Mattingly arrived here early in 1786. It is said that "when Leonard Mattingly died in 1827 it was estimated that his living descendants numbered nearly three hundred souls . . . he had had three sons by his first wife, and ten children by his second. William also had ten children, and these are represented by hundreds in the single congregation of St. Charles in Marion county." The famed John Lancaster arrived here in 1788, after having been captured by the Indians as he came down the Ohio River, and suffering the usual indignities at their hands before escaping. He became a well-known personality in the state, amassed wealth, and was elected to the legislature several times. He was the grandfather of Bishop John Lancaster Spalding, and also numbered in his clan three other priests and two nuns.

In 1787 a third group of Catholics began their settlement on Cartwright's Creek, which was one of the several branches of the Beech Fork of Salt River. Located about twenty miles from Bardstown, it was much more prosperous than the Pottinger's Creek settlement. Thomas Hill and Philip Miles were the leaders, although the latter soon moved to the older site. The next year came Henry Cambron, another of the influential leaders.

In the town of Bardstown there were few Catholics, Anthony Sanders and Nehemiah Webb being perhaps the first. They were tradesmen — a hatter and a miller. Thomas Gwynn and Edward Howard (with his better known son, Thomas) arrived with a group coming in 1788 and bought farms just outside the town.

The emigration of these Maryland Catholics to Kentucky

increased considerably by 1788 as news filtered back to their neighbors and friends. Down the Ohio came a steady stream of them. Many of the boats were ambushed on the river by Indians and more than one woman came to the creeks a widow of a few days. Thomas Hill remained in Bardstown over a year to recuperate from a bullet through both thighs; one of his Negroes and all his horses were killed in that ambush. Generally, these later groups went first to Bardstown and remained there until they could pick out lands suitable to their tastes — whether for the fertility of the soil or for the proximity of old Maryland friends. They did not settle in the Pottinger's Creek location, but preferred to stake their farms at one of the other places.

Before Kentucky was admitted to the Union as the fifteenth state in 1792 there were no less than five different and rather large colonies of Catholics within Nelson county, in the general vicinity of Bardstown. These were then known as the Pottinger's Creek settlement (1785); the Hardin Creek settlement (1786); the Poplar Neck settlement (1787); the Cartwright's Creek settlement (1787); and the Rolling Fork settlement (1788). Cox's Creek, near Fairfield, was settled in either 1791 or 1795. The Scott county, also known as the Woodford settlement, a considerable distance away, was perhaps more prosperous than the rest, having much better lands. It was probably begun in 1786.⁹

Religion was the unifying force holding these people together. No sooner had the first stakes been set than the people thought of securing a priest. One of those who returned to Maryland in the spring of 1787 informed Carroll of the immigration, consisting then of about fifty families. The next colony, which left in the fall, carried with it an Irish Franciscan priest, Father Charles Whelan. Educated in France Father Whelan had been chaplain of a French warship during the American Revolution. He decided to remain in the new country when hostilities ceased, and was with the Jesuits at New Town, Maryland, when Carroll asked him to take the dangerous mission. Received with joy and celebrations his arrival was the main topic of conversations for days. Father Whelan immediately visited all the settlements, establishing church stations where the farmers could gather for services.

On Rolling Fork he might appear at the house of Robert Abell, at Cartwright's Creek Henry Cambron or Thomas Hill might be his host, and in the other places neighbors would gather at some house already appointed. Although he often had to ford or even swim high waters, he acquired the reputation of never being late for an appointment. The frontier dances bothered him, as they were to trouble other priests, but he did not succeed in doing much about them.

Because the priest was unique at this time, he met with some prejudice from the Protestants. He was able to meet his hecklers in approved frontier fashion. One such, a tailor, he silenced by simply showing that the heckler had not learned the rudiments of his own trade and should not attempt to teach the priest his. When a preacher attacked him, and then complained that Whelan called him an ignoramus the priest easily proved his contention by asking him to explain a text in the Bible. The simple fellow was utterly confused and retired from the field.

However, Father Whelan's real trouble was with his own flock. When Carroll had agreed to send a priest to Kentucky he tried to provide for the man's support. He had made a contract with six of the leading settlers to pay the priest a salary of about one hundred pounds annually. In a short time, whether through greed or through need, some of these men began to manifest a reluctance to meet this obligation. The man who had made a reputation for exactness in keeping appointments was unable to understand why his companions should not keep their bargain with him. Soon he began to talk among the people about them, and retaliation on their part followed. Perhaps it was difficult to raise that amount, and perhaps the priest should not have been so exacting, but even so their next action was not approved by those not involved in the business. Two of them brought the contract before a Court to have it annulled. The Court declared the contract valid, but gave permission for payment in produce. Whelan was naturally disgusted, and after the trial spoke his mind about his welching parishioners. Thereupon they brought him before the same Court for slander, and a prejudiced jury brought in a verdict against him for £500 or prison until paid.

The men then had him in their power, offering to stand for his bail, and in this way the contract was nullified. Chagrined by the duplicity of such tactics he abandoned the mission and returned to Maryland in the spring of 1790. Although he had found the people eager for his ministrations, Father Whelan never found it opportune to erect a church.¹⁰

The following year a group of immigrants from North Carolina brought with them one of those banes of Bishop Carroll's life, a wandering priest. William de Rohan had been assigned by Carroll to Virginia, but had left there without permission, had wandered into Tennessee, and finally reached the Catholic settlements of Kentucky. He, too, had been born and educated in France, although of Irish parentage. Soon the United States was to see several of this restless breed of men, some of whom came not for the relief of Carroll but to the relief of their own bishop in Europe. Some came merely as adventurers, some because of incompatibility with superiors or colleagues, some because of their personal lives. De Rohan was not among the worst of the lot; he knew his responsibilities as well as his limitations. When the pious were scandalized to learn their priest could not stand on his feet because of too much liquor, he did not attempt to start a schism by appealing to the more worldly; when his faculties of ministration were withdrawn, he did not claim he was being persecuted. He taught school when he could not preach; he bought a farm later in life near Holy Cross Church at the foot of a high peak, still known as Rohan's Knob. When Bishop Flagnet finally took all faculties from him he was brought to the seminary, and there died a pious death in 1832.¹¹

At the various settlements he would say Mass, visit the sick, baptize the children, and unite the youth in matrimony; but he refused to hear confessions, explaining to the puzzled people that his faculties for this were confined to Virginia. Finally, however, he convinced himself that as Kentucky had been a part of Virginia at the time he had received his faculties from Carroll they could be extended to cover his present place. When news of this finally reached Bishop Carroll he disapproved of the reasoning, and as De Rohan was by then in disgrace his faculties were

not extended to Kentucky. When the youthful Father Badin heard that his predecessor had performed a marriage ceremony he insisted on repeating it for those luckless couples united without due procedure. He must have been somewhat perplexed when one pair decided that if they had never been married it was time to leave each other, and each took another spouse. Despite all this, to De Rohan goes the honor of building the first Catholic place of worship in Kentucky. Early in 1792 the Pottinger's Creek Catholics, under his direction, built a log chapel and called it Holy Cross. The next year a distinct and fruitful chapter began, for the Apostle of Kentucky reached the state, there to launch his great career.

Two

STEPHEN THEODORE BADIN, Apostle of Kentucky and proto-priest of the United States, was born in Orleans, France, July 17, 1768, the third of fifteen children and the oldest son. For three years he studied at the College Montaigu, Paris, and in 1789 entered the Sulpician seminary at Orleans. In July, 1791, most of the seminarians there quietly slipped away, as they learned that the bishop of the see had been one of the four bishops of all France to take the odious oath prescribed by the Revolutionary government. A subdeacon at the time, Stephen remained with his family until November, when he decided to leave for America. At Bordeaux he met Flaget, David, and Chicoisneau, although none of the three knew of each other's determination, nor had any previous communication. Their meeting was simply a coincidence; even their decisions to go to America were unknown to each other. They arrived in Baltimore late in March, 1792, and Badin concluded his studies at the new Sulpician seminary. On May 25, 1793, those gathered in the old cathedral of St. Peter's witnessed an historical event—Bishop Carroll raised to the priesthood the first man to be ordained in the United States. Carroll ever afterward retained an affectionate regard for this, his first son in God, as may be seen from the letters that passed between the two.

The Bishop seemed always to have been mindful of Kentucky and he soon decided to send his new priest to this mission. When he made that decision known to Father Badin, the latter protested his unfitness for the difficult position, on the grounds of his youth, inexperience, and poor knowledge of English. He had been spend-

ing the months after his ordination at Georgetown College in order to perfect his English. Carroll proposed a novena, but at the end of the period both had retained their same view. Upon the Bishop's smiling assurance that he believed it the will of God that Badin go, the latter's doubts were at an end. His earnest "I will go, then," was the beginning of his dedication to Kentucky. Badin had as companion an older and more experienced priest, the Reverend Michael Bernard Barrières, whom Carroll had appointed his vicar-general for the West. The two left Baltimore September 6, 1793, to walk to Pittsburgh. A month later with six well-armed companions they were guiding flatboats down the Ohio, and after seven days on the river reached Gallipolis. At this practically deserted village, another one of those examples of greedy speculators' deceit of trusting foreigners, the two priests celebrated Mass and administered the sacraments for the doleful remnant of the once large French settlement. Three days later they were again on the water and continued down to Limestone. From here they walked the sixty-five miles to Lexington, sleeping in a bleak mill on grain bags the first night of travel. Toward the last of November, on the first Sunday of Advent, Father Badin said his first Mass in Kentucky in the house of Denis McCarthy of Lexington. He then rode sixteen miles to the Catholic settlement in Scott County so that Father Barrières could have a chalice to use in his Mass for the people there. Carroll's vicar-general remained in Kentucky only until April of the next year when he decided that this post was not suited to his temperament. So he went on down the rivers into Spanish territory, where he was arrested by the authorities because the French and Spanish were at war. However Father Barrières was soon freed, and went into Indian country, there to serve as a missionary for the next twenty years. Worn out by his labors, he returned to Bordeaux in 1814 only to die a week after landing.

Badin had established himself in Scott County upon arrival, as Barrières had gone on to Nelson County. The former continued to reside in his first station for a year and a half, making it the center of his activities. From here he moved to Pottinger's Creek, and soon three miles from Holy Cross Church he built a cabin

for himself, calling his domicile St. Stephen's. From it Badin was to direct Catholic spiritual life for the next fifteen years; it was the focal point of the missionary activity of Catholicism in Kentucky until the arrival of Flaget.

Of the 70,000 Kentuckians, Badin estimated that there were some 300 Catholic families of perhaps 1500 souls. He, too, immediately set to work to establish stations in private homes and soon had them at every place where Catholics gathered, even though but a few families were at hand. For the next three years Father Badin alone attended all the congregations and even made new ones. By the time he had completed the circuit and was back to Pottinger's Creek he had ridden hundreds of miles and weeks had passed. On first arriving at a home he would hear confessions until noon, while the congregation would recite the Rosary. Because of the large concourse he soon had to adopt a procedure of giving the penitents numbered tickets as they came in. He gave religious instruction at every opportunity; children and servants were lined up for lessons in Catechism and not only were slaves also given the benefit of instruction, but Badin especially insisted that masters give them that privilege. He trained catechists to aid him in this work and soon had at least one at each station.

In a short time he, too, was to be disturbed by the frontier style of dancing, which from all reports seems to have been the favorite recreation of the Catholic settlements. This soon brought him into conflict with the younger, wilder spirits and many a battle of wits over the practice took place. When he unexpectedly turned up at one of the homes while a dance was in progress, those nearest exits escaped before or during the long evening devotion. The Pottinger Creek boys even formed a dancing school with a regular dancing master. Badin ran head-on into that when he made his regular Saturday visit and found only a few on hand for confessions. After attending to these, discreet inquiry discovered that most of the "penitents" were over at the school-house taking a dancing lesson. His sudden appearance here was somewhat disturbing and the long lesson in Catechism was probably not appreciated. The next morning the priest said his

Mass at the school, with the dancing master in attendance. This interference with what many regarded as legitimate recreation naturally led to resentment. As other priests came into the area and were asked if they regarded dancing as wicked, their negative replies brought more and more censure upon Badin. Finally, the latter felt constrained to defend himself against the charges and wrote his bishop:

I come to the . . . charge of my forbidding dancing. I have said five hundred times that dancing was no sin, and I have tolerated it in the day time, but I have often found by experience that most generally they make it an affair of importance instead of recreation; that they protract it late in the night or the whole night; that they either neglect totally their night-prayers and even their morning prayers, or perform them through formality; that they are not satisfied with dancing on ordinary days, but transform the Sundays & holy days into days of profanation & give general scandal to the Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, &c., who abominate the practice on any day and at any hour; that the immodesty of woman which at this time would display itself in the very temple, which audacity meets with no Priest to censure it on the dancing-floor, and thereby causes always cruel ravages; that dances in this country are the repair of the most daring impudence, as the most profligate characters come thereto uninvited, and that they are an infallible occasion of sin for most of the actors or Spectators; so that Mr. Fournier, who at first had permitted that practice, found himself obliged to modify his permission, and at last to preach against it in two forcible sermons delivered the year before his death, which I found among his papers. It is unnecessary that I bring forward the cloud of authorities upon which he grounds his doctrine, very sufficient to persuade me, had I not been already persuaded, of the dangers & excesses consequent to the frequentation of balls.¹

With no other priest in the state, Badin also had the definite hardship of being himself deprived of the sacrament of penance. Often his was the fate of a lonely campfire overnight as he lost his way or was caught out between stations. Then he would, by the dim light of the fire, read his Divine Office before retiring. More than once accidents occurred, such as his horse rolling down a cliff with him, as he crossed Salt River at night. His complete

escape from injury on this occasion he ascribed to the fact that he was carrying the Blessed Sacrament.

"We have been here all expecting with impatience this dear messenger, whom his quality of confessor of J. C. renders also venerable," announced Badin who after almost three years of solitary work, was comforted by the arrival of a co-worker in the person of the Reverend Michael Fournier. This priest, another Frenchman, had spent four years teaching in London, after fleeing from France. However, he had wanted real missionary work, so he came to the United States late in 1796. Carroll immediately designated him for Kentucky, and after a very difficult trip he arrived at Badin's in February of 1797. He had come through with a band of over fifty Catholics emigrating from Maryland. Accompanying them was another priest named McGuire. A day out of Baltimore, they met a Catholic merchant, Daniel Henry, who gave them \$100 to help meet their expenses on the trip. The priests had to wait for two weeks while their guides conducted some private business. After this delay they went into Virginia to join "with four other catholick [*sic*] families that are going to Kentucky and make in all 32 people; we found on our way 29 other catholicks . . . who go also to Kentucky."

They were informed that no priest visited the station of Cumberland, although there was a chapel there and several settlements of Catholics in the vicinity. They had baptized at least ten persons before arriving at Pittsburgh on October 28. Here they had to remain for fourteen weeks as the Ohio River was too low for the boats. Inquiring about the presence of Catholics in the town they were informed there were at least a hundred. The priests, therefore, made up a petition to the Bishop asking him to send a priest to Pittsburgh, and the Catholic signers of the document each pledged a certain amount for the support of a clergyman, should the Bishop have one to send them. By the time half the Catholic residents of the town had signed, \$200 had been promised. Of course, then as now, actually getting the money was another thing. All this information Fournier relayed back to the Bishop from Pittsburgh with the remark that "when this business is done, they will desire you to send them a clergyman, who, we hope,

will have enough to exercise his zeal both in the town and in the country around.”² However, four months later, writing Carroll from Badin’s, Fournier complained that he had spent fourteen weeks at the rate of three dollars a week, “so that i spent three guineas above the money that i received from you, and got nothing from the inhabitants for whom i read mass every Sunday. There are about a hundred Catholicks in that town, and so careless that we had hardly six of them at church, besides the people of the house. . . .”³

For some months Fournier lived with Badin, for, as the latter told the Bishop, “Mr. Fournier and I shall be insufficient to serve the multitudes which are in and do every day flock into Kentucky, near the Priestland. This consideration and others have determined us to fix here the station of both; the spiritual welfare of our congregations depends much on ours, which is more certainly promoted in a mutual society. . . . Mr. McGuire left him [Fournier] as Mr. Barrières left me; this desertion shall give us more business, but I am not sorry for it.” Badin then went on to tell the Bishop that they needed at least one more priest in Kentucky, especially for Scott County. He had sent forty-five pounds to the Bishop by messenger to cover the expenses of another priest’s trip out to their state, if Carroll had one to send. If none arrived by Easter he himself would go to Scott County. At this station there was a cabin for a priest’s use, built next to the chapel. Badin had in this same report spoken of such matters as a legal suit over a beautiful piece of clergy-land bought on Elkhorn, and had ordered some more books through the Bishop.⁴

In August of 1797 Fournier bought from Benedict Spalding, for \$2 an acre, ninety-five acres on the Rolling Fork. As he planned to make his headquarters with this congregation, the men in it set about that fall to clear the land and build a house for him. During the winter he moved there, living in a temporary hut until his house was finished. He was then sixteen miles from Badin, so the two saw each other only about once a month. Fournier took over Rolling Fork, Cartwright Creek, Hardin’s Creek, Bards-town, and Poplar Neck parishes. As Pottinger’s Creek was so much larger than the rest, Fournier also assisted Badin there.

He soon was requesting the Bishop to send them books of devotion, images, beads, and catechisms, as they lived in a country where none of these were available. People were constantly asking for those items. Their supply of catechisms had been exhausted quickly as Father McGuire had taken half of those Carroll had sent with them.⁵

Like Badin's, Fournier's territory was extensive for it was at least 120 miles between his two most remote stations. Archbishop Spalding described Fournier as "an excellent priest; pious, zealous, laborious, and punctual to all his appointments." He was of the ordinary size, and had a thin visage, furrowed with care, but still beaming with habitual cheerfulness. His manners were extremely popular; he soon caught the spirit, and adapted himself to the manners of the country and he had not one personal enemy. He spoke English remarkably well, and his sermons had the triple merit of being solid, short, and intelligible to the meanest capacity.⁶ Despite his virtues, however, he managed to annoy Badin, who reported to the Bishop that it was evident that Fournier could not be expected to stay in Kentucky for many years. It seemed that Fournier had begun to worry about his financial support, for he had put a tax on his own congregation to raise a salary for himself, and then wanted also to tax Badin's congregation on Pottinger's Creek where he said Mass on two weekdays. Badin was indignant about this, especially as he had given him a Negro boy who had been given to the Church by a Mr. Boone for a houseboy. This was, however, only a minor incident and did not lead to any serious rift in their friendship.

As soon as he had reached Kentucky Fournier had written to an old friend of his, likewise in exile, urging him to come to the missions of America. Father Anthony Salmon, also of the diocese of Blois in France, had been in the seminary with Fournier and had fled to England. Like Fournier his years in England teaching French had given him facility in the English language, and made him well fitted for the mission fields of the United States. He set out for America immediately after receiving Fournier's plea and arrived at Badin's the last day of January, 1799. Had he not had a great deal of trouble in getting down

the Ohio, he would have been there much sooner. The moment he put his foot in Badin's cabin the latter rode up, having just returned from a long visitation. Within a short time the two were joined by Fournier, who had picked that very day to visit Badin. In his simple but graphic account of his arrival, written to Bishop Carroll, Father Salmon says, "We directly talk'd about the great affair I was come for," and it takes little imagination to see this dramatic setting of the three priests huddling around the fire, excitedly discussing their activities and plans.

Salmon followed the Bishop's advice and lived with Badin. De Rohan had also been living at St. Stephen's the previous spring. If he was still there the cabin may have been crowded on the rare occasions when all were at home. Salmon planned to continue to live there until a house was built for him on the land "Mr. Lilly, a gentleman of Beardstown [*sic*] congregation gave to the church." A few days after his arrival he was visiting the congregations and beginning his work. In a comparatively short time Father Salmon discovered what trials a frontier missionary meets and how wearing they were on his frail body. He had hoped to buy a horse, but found the people not overly willing to sacrifice in order to aid him in this purchase. The only letter Salmon wrote back to his bishop, or at least the only one now extant in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives [signed Salmon, missionary priest in Kentucky] shows his perplexities. It reads, in part:

It has been agreed between us that I should attend Beardstown [*sic*], and Hardin's Creek congregations about 20 miles distant from each other. So every fortnight I give Church near Beardstown where there are about 70 families and likewise I go alternatively to Hardin's Creek where there is almost the same number of Catholics. . . .

I cannot help confessing, My Lord, that is a great deal of work for my little capacity. I hardly can serve so many people: tho I give them all my time, our ministry is very difficult in these quarters, for the plantations being so afar—and distant from each other, I have not yet any decent place of [worship?] each of my congregations has began to build a church, but the difficulty of raising money within this country and the backward dispositions of the individuals do not permit me to tell your

Lordship when they will be finish'd. I do not know likewise, My Lord, whether it will be in our power to return to you the money your Lordship advanced for my journey. . . .⁷

The congregation near Bardstown he served was that of Poplar Neck. He was also, at one time or another, given the Cox Creek settlement, which station was at the house of the Gardiner's whose land later was the site of the town of Fairfield. This settlement was probably started in 1795 with not many more than a dozen families, although by 1800 it had increased to half a hundred families. Gardiner and Nicholas Miles, father of the first bishop of Nashville, were its leaders. Clement and Henrietta Boone Gardiner were the parents of nine children, and "with the exception possibly of Anthony Sanders there was not another Catholic in Kentucky whose means were so freely applied to Church and charitable purposes. . . . He not only subscribed liberally for the personal maintenance of the early clergy of the State, but he was never invoked in vain for aid in the construction of churches, and for other undertakings in the interests of Catholicity." His original log cabin was built with the idea that it might be a church station, and for over ten years the largest room in the house served as a chapel for the surrounding neighbors. Both Gardiners traced their family back to the original colony of St. Mary's, and they were fairly well off before leaving Maryland. In fact, their purpose in emigration seems to have been only that of being with their children. They were a comfort and aid not only to Father Salmon but to his followers, including the Bishop. The land for the first church, St. Michael's, as well as the accompanying cemetery was a gift from Gardiner.⁸

Badin, Fournier, and Salmon were soon joined by a fourth priest, the Reverend John Thayer who arrived there sometime probably in the spring in 1799. The expectations of Badin as to the use of this celebrated convert were doomed to disappointment. The talents of the former Protestant minister needed a much wider and more sophisticated audience than Kentucky could provide. This learned Bostonian was full of enthusiastic plans of all sorts but he was no frontier missionary, and as early as June of 1799 Badin had correctly and cogently gauged his character and value

to the Church of Kentucky.⁹ Thayer had been converted while traveling in France and Italy, and had been ordained in Europe well before Carroll was consecrated. He came back to convert Boston to Catholicism, but this proved a little too much, so he shook its dust from his shoes and offered his services to Bishop Carroll. Perhaps he could not adjust himself to the religion of the frontier, or perhaps Badin was not his idea of the priesthood or of a vicar-general. Badin mentioned at one time that Thayer was not able to ride a horse for some time because of a physical ailment and a missionary without a horse was not of much use there. Other contemporary writers state that although Father Thayer spent four years in Kentucky only two of these were devoted to missionary work. These writers devote pages to the story of his conversion and a line to his presence in Kentucky. When he left in 1803 there could have been little mourning over his passing from the scene. Over in Ireland he found things more congenial.

But at least for a time, and before Badin and the rest discovered that Thayer was not the type necessary for this work there must have been great rejoicing over the presence of four priests in the field at once. They made plans of all sorts, and Badin even consented to attempt to find a salary for the priests instead of having to depend upon the produce of their own farms or upon the charity of the people. This he was somewhat reluctant to do, telling Carroll that:

For my own part I have taken the shortest way so far, being satisfied with the little moneys that did occasionally pass thro my hands and were soon spent for the use of the congregation as much as for my own. I am at present engaged in a lawsuit for my clothing by the ill management of a Catholic merchant. . . . I have been also many times in distress on acct of the public affairs of the church. After having discoursed with my brethren on the subject, we agreed that a moderate tythe would be a proper mean to raise a salary for priests in Kentucky: wherefore I humbly petition from your Reverence a mandate to that purpose, if you judge fit or at least a simple letter. Tho' I have the charge of keeping house and additional expenses by the company of Priests, I conceive that 50 dol. per year would

keep me clear of debts and with them might always be satisfied. . . .

Disinterestedness is a necessary ingredient to build the foundation of the Church. . . . No clergyman is fit for Kentucky who seeks for his interests more than for those of Jesus Christ. This state is rich in land but is almost penniless. . . . If a gentleman of Mr. Salmon's disposition would come here he would have business enough in the Congregation of Cartwright's Creek, which contains more than 100 families.¹⁰

Dramatically and drastically the ecclesiastical personnel of the mission was once again centered in the person of Badin alone. Salmon was the first to leave him. In the late fall he caught a severe cold and for six weeks he remained in bed. Finally, one cold morning, November 9, 1799, he got up early and decided to go into town to keep an appointment at Gwynn's with a lady to whom he was giving instruction. Badin tried strenuously to keep him in bed as the rough trail was covered by snow. Salmon was still weak and not too accustomed to riding a horse. On the road his horse threw the priest, badly hurting him. He dragged himself through the snow to a tree to lean against it. There sometime later he was found by a boy cutting wood in the forest, but the boy's brutal employer would not let him go for aid or assist the priest. Father Salmon lay there from noon till night. As Gwynn came riding by, the wood cutter shouted to him that his priest was lying down the road, perhaps dying. Gwynn raced to him, but Salmon numbed by cold and mortally hurt, was already delirious. Badin rode the sixteen miles in two hours to give him the last sacraments, amidst bitter tears. The next night, the forty-two year old priest passed away. Perhaps the finest tribute that could be paid him is the phrase that occurs in so many of Badin's letters, "Send me another priest like Mr. Salmon."

Fournier was living in his little cabin on the Rolling Fork. In general he was not in very good health and several times Badin observed in the three years after Salmon's death: "Mr. Fournier was not well the last time I heard from him." He was interested in his own farm, and while not engaged in his priestly duties, could generally be found at work. One day in 1803, while attempting to lift large beams of wood to saw into planks, the overexertion

caused the rupture of a blood vessel, and death followed immediately. Badin arrived only in time to conduct the funeral. Like Salmon, Fournier had not yet reached his fiftieth year. The visitor today at old Holy Cross may still see the stones in the cemetery commemorating these first Kentucky missionaries. As Thayer left that same year, Badin was once again alone.

These next two years of solitude were somewhat difficult for him to bear after having all this companionship. Nevertheless he went about the immense task of handling all the congregations unassisted. Badin never had the love of all the people. He never was as popular as Fournier or Salmon, for his personality was more somber and unbending and he was more of a fanatic. A few loved Badin deeply; a few disliked him intensely; but the vast majority regarded him with awe, perhaps veneration, and although regarding him as a good priest, never had any warm personal feeling for him. He was entirely too strict for the ordinary Christian, completely too demanding for the lukewarm Christian. Yet, concerning Badin there was then, as now, much unjustifiable criticism. As Bishop Carroll told him, there was "much exaggeration" of his eccentricities and of his severities. Badin, in the last year of the century, refuting the last charges made against him, said to Carroll, "I must be candid and confess that those who are not willing to lead a virtuous life are somewhat afraid of me . . . it is also an exaggeration to say that almost half of my Congregation do not go to Confession. . . . I count nearly 1200 penitents. . . ." ¹¹

Some of the most influential men of the settlements were not the most godly! Badin speaks of one of them who had not been to confession for fifteen years, and was so uncivil to Fournier that the latter was going to bring suit against him, and was dissuaded only by the earnest request of Badin. That same person had asked the vicar-general of Kentucky, i.e., Badin, if he thought the Bishop would allow De Rohan to become the pastor of the Rolling Fork congregation if the parishioners there petitioned it. Badin answered in the negative, even though he realized that the event would have lightened his burdens, especially while he was alone.¹² At last, as this man had not paid a penny toward the support of the Church

all the time he was in Kentucky and climaxed his record by shooting at another Catholic while quarreling on the way home from church, Badin decided to make him come to terms. The man then declared he was returning to Maryland even though he was well settled and very convenient to the church, as he could not "perform in this country the affair of his salvation as Priests here are unwilling to lend him any assistance."¹³ This is simply a type of the various incidents occurring between Badin and those who disliked his methods. However, those were merely passing affairs and should not be magnified beyond that.

Badin was constantly on the move, and the work he accomplished was prodigious. He was always attempting to erect new parishes and often made personal sacrifices to do so. Early in 1805 while visiting the Catholics of Lexington he paid seventy dollars from his own pocket for a lot for a church. He went on to Green River and "procured there 200 acres of good land for an ecclesiastical settlement." At Danville he also raised a subscription to build a chapel which was planned to include room for a priest. At the Rolling Fork, Fournier had allowed the congregation a year to build a chapel. Badin extended this a year and subscribed his year's salary from this congregation toward the project. The young priest was concerned about church property, its mode of conveyance, title, and such items. He was forever asking the Bishop to send new altar stones, holy oils, and other ecclesiastical goods; he asked him what to do about those of his Catholic friends who had joined the Freemasons. One night he lost in a fire his small "missionary" chalice, missal, ritual, vestments, and two patens. Badin prepared for publication *The Principles of Roman Catholics* and asked Carroll for his approbation of it. In the few months after Fournier died, Badin absolved nearly 2100 penitents and thought that as many more remained unconfessed. On his visit to Madison County congregation after an absence of fifteen months, he observed that it was painful to be absent for so long as he always found on his return that some of the people had died without spiritual assistance. His own parents died during this period, as well as some other relatives, and the estates were divided without regard to himself, as he was thought dead. But since the people of

Kentucky needed him too much he declined to return to France for his portion. His labors also affected his health, and more than once in these years, he mentions that he had been "attacked with a transient fever and quinsy caused by habitual fatigues and too great an exercise of speaking; indeed these infirmities return often, & my hairs are turning pretty gray. But this is not the worst, for the incessant application . . . becomes sometimes so burdensome that I wish myself back in Md. . . ." Later he mentions that his hair has already turned white.¹⁴

By this time the Catholic population of Kentucky had increased threefold and it is little wonder that Badin was often not only exhausted but completely worn out mentally and physically. Even his attempts to regulate sick calls, so as to husband his own strength, met with charges of greed. This hardy and energetic man considered the worst charge against himself to be that he failed to visit the sick unless certain conditions, often not in the power of the people, were met. He stated that this was a "calumnious assertion" and explained that:

It is very true that I annexed some conditions, after the death of the Revd Mr. Fournier, when I found myself charged alone with the care of 8 or 9 hundred families, amounting at a moderate calculation to at least 6000 individuals, white and black, occupying 800 miles square, besides the distant congr. of St. Francis, St. Peter, St. Christopher, etc. all liable to die with sickness, and likely except infants to send for me. (not to mention other rides) at any time of day and night, by all seasons and weathers, and from any distance. I had many temporal affairs to manage, I did not always enjoy health myself, and more than once I have mounted my horse in the greatest anguish of body, fits of fever, colds, insuperable sleepiness (caused by excessive fatigues) to visit persons less sick than myself. I have often been made to undertake long fatiguing journeys without necessity, and lose a precious time, wanted to study, to keep useful or necessary correspondence with catholics, to answer the letters of heretic ministers etc. under so many pressures of mind and body. I prescribed (to prevent unnecessary applications) that one dollar should be paid, not as represented by my foes to reward me, but to the trustees for the service of the altar — that a horse should be brought to me, as my hardy and laborious Bucephal was not able to go thru as many rides

as I did — finally that the certificate of a physician should be — as to the danger of death. This last condition has been required in Maryland by the [?] and other gentlemen probably less harrassed than I was: However it has [?] with in [?] Kentucky, not even in one single instance; the 1st in not more than 30 instances altogether: as to the 2d I cannot specify any number. I considered the measure as prudent necessary and even as charitable to my parishioners, who had none other pastors life or health at their service; and I call on my severest calumniators to confess I fear no fatigue for the cause of religion. What I did then, I informed you of by letter, and added: *This regulation is indeed liable to some exceptions*; but what human institution is not? I should others would do the same, if placed in the same circumstances: but the assertion that I still do so now, is a bare-faced calumny; for since the arrival of the Revd Mr. Nerinckx I naturally dropt off those temporary regulations.¹⁵

He could not be everywhere at once, and so attempted to have the Catholics of the places where he was not in attendance go to their church on Sundays and there engage in some religious exercises. He always insisted upon morning and night prayers in common, even on Saturday nights; he tried to inculcate devotion to the Blessed Virgin, with frequent recitation of the Rosary; preached the necessity of regular reception of the sacraments of penance and the Eucharist, and placed special emphasis on hearing Mass whenever possible. His rule on the last subject was that one need not walk farther than five miles, nor ride farther than ten miles. He was always insistent upon constant instruction of children and slaves.

Naturally, in his peregrinations over the vast extent of his territory he met and had social intercourse with those not of his faith. These associations were generally friendly, for Father Badin was neither a hermit nor a prude. The fact that he was a pastor of souls made him watchful of the people's morals and sometimes critical of conduct, but he was not a harsh man. He often was guest not of Catholics alone, who were delighted to have him, but also of the influential non-Catholics of Kentucky. Many of these not only entertained him, but also aided him generously with donations toward the building of churches. Colonel Joe Daviess became his firm friend after stopping one day at St. Stephen's to

inquire his way, being then lost in the forest. Badin loaned him Catholic books to read. Judge James Twyman, who became his good friend and legal adviser, was also a convert of Badin's. Among other friends who held him in high regard were Richard M. Johnson, Judge John Rowan, General Robert Todd, Senator William T. Barry, Judge George M. Bibb, and many other public men. Badin made it a rule always to be courteous and never to obtrude his opinions nor to offend sensibilities by extreme claims. He won respect and understanding. It was only when he met with rudeness that he gave reign to his own keen wit. The stories that have come down regarding these encounters are legion and although all may not be true or many may have been magnified, nevertheless they are like the legends that have followed Boone and Crockett and Lincoln — they give the measure of the man and reveal that he was already legendary, already American and "frontiered" after the first ten years. Two of the incidents will suffice. Once a Protestant minister met him riding down the road, reins hanging from the horse's neck, absorbed in the reading of the day's Office. After some conversation, the minister asked him why he did not marry. Badin said that he had been married for some time and the minister expressed surprise as he had always regarded him a bachelor. Badin answered that he was married to the Church, when he became one of its ministers. To this the minister replied that he too was married to the church, but also had a woman for a wife.

"You are married to the church and to a woman! You have two wives then. All I have to say is, that one or the other of them must be a slut," was Badin's final rejoinder.

Another time he met a Presbyterian minister on the road from Bardstown to Fairfield. Badin was walking with his saddle on his back.

"Where's your horse, Father Badin?" inquired the minister.

"He took sick and died on the road."

"Did you give him absolution before he died," slyly asked the other.

"Oh, no," Badin grinned. "It would have been useless; the silly animal turned Presbyterian in articulo mortis, and went straight to hell."¹⁶

In the midst of this solitary mission Badin was cheered by the arrival of the Reverend Urban Guillet, who was in Kentucky seeking a place for the Trappists. He rode with him to explore Green River and other likely spots for a monastery. Badin was anxious to have the religious in Kentucky, although he realized they would be of little aid in the missions; yet he felt they would offer a place of retreat and prayer when needed. While the Trappists did not then make a permanent foundation in the state they did aid Badin in some of his worst moments. Before these wandering monks passed on to Illinois a couple of them died in his cabin.

In 1805 his sacerdotal solitude was ended for the remainder of his Kentucky career, as in that year there arrived in the state two men who were to carve lasting memorials in the history of American Catholicism — the Reverend Charles Nerinckx, humble missionary and founder of the Sisters of Loretto, and the Reverend Edward D. Fenwick, founder of the American Dominicans, who was to become first bishop of Cincinnati.

Nerinckx was another victim of the French drive to extend their principles of fraternity and equality. Born in Belgium October 2, 1761, of a large family, Charles was given all the educational advantages that country could offer, including study at the University of Louvain, and early had decided upon the clerical state. After the usual training he was ordained priest in 1785. His piety, zeal, and scholarly tendencies soon attracted favorable attention, and he was given the large parish of Meerbeek in 1794 at a comparatively young age. Here he worked so zealously that he reformed the parish but at the same time aroused the authorities and an order was issued for his arrest in 1797. He fled in disguise to the city of Dendermonde and hid in the hospital of St. Blase, serving there as chaplain, in secret, for the next four years. He said Mass at two o'clock in the morning, visited the sick, administered the sacraments to the dying and to condemned prisoners, and slipped occasionally to his old parish to give his service. However, after four years of this the regime changed and he could come out of hiding. Conditions of the ministry were not to his liking, and he finally concluded that in the actual state of affairs

his presence in Belgium was useless. After considerable advice and meditation on the will of God in his regard, he decided to offer his services to the Bishop of Baltimore. He wrote him in November, 1803. The Princess Gallitzin, mother of the priest in America, wrote a letter of recommendation to Carroll. He heard from Bishop Carroll the following May and left Amsterdam in August, 1804. After a three-month voyage, during which over forty passengers died, he arrived in Baltimore, and from there was sent over to Georgetown to learn English with Bishop Leonard Neale. In February the Trappist had returned from Kentucky and Nerinckx talked to him. As Carroll had already designated him for Kentucky, Nerinckx decided to go out there with the Trappist band which Urban was taking from Pennsylvania. When Nerinckx found that the Dominicans were also going to Kentucky, he felt that with so many priests in the same territory he might be more useful elsewhere. Bishop Carroll, however, did not agree so Nerinckx started out with the monks in May of 1805. Thirty-seven persons made up the group; the monks never spoke, and as they traveled at a leisurely pace Nerinckx finally decided it his duty to go on alone. He bought a horse with saddle and bridle for seventy-five dollars and then started alone "through the lonely half-cleared woodlands of the state of Ohio," traveling about fifty miles a day for the next ten days. The Belgian priest arrived at the house of Badin on July 18 while the Trappists did not reach there until fall.

Meanwhile, in May Badin had entertained the Dominican Father Fenwick, who had been sent out by the Bishop to look over the state for a possible site for the first establishment of that order in America. Father Fenwick, born in Maryland August 19, 1768, of an old colonial family, was sent to Europe for his education. Here he joined the Dominicans and was ordained priest in 1793. He, too, soon faced the fury of a conquering French army and had to flee to England, where he served in various capacities for several years. For a long time he had wished to establish the Order in America and early in 1803 he began to put in operation his plan in this respect. Late in 1804 he was finally in Maryland, having secured the necessary permission for his project from his religious superiors and from the Bishop. Kentucky was not a part

of his plan, but as the Bishop wanted him to consider seriously its possibility he went out there. Before the arrival of Nerinckx he had returned to the East to make preparations for the move to Kentucky.

Badin had been looking forward impatiently to the arrival of the Belgian priest, for he had already heard enough of his work and character to feel that Nerinckx would be of great aid to him. Badin had been taking care of over fifteen stations. There were separate chapels at only a few of these—one at Holy Cross; Father Salmon had built one in Bardstown; there was one at Hardin's Creek; St. Ann's on Cartwright Creek; and another in Scott County. The two made immediately an extensive visit to all of these churches and stations in order to acquaint the new missionary with the field. The Catholics of the Rolling Fork congregation hastily put up a small chapel in the hope that Nerinckx would take his place with them. Nerinckx named it Holy Mary. One hundred and four of the Cartwright Creek Catholics had signed a petition to the Bishop for a resident priest, pointing out the immense labors of Badin and the impossibility of his attending to all the Catholics. "Consequently, we are of the opinion that great numbers will be entirely lost from the Church if we are not supplied with more priests," concluded this plea. This congregation, those on Hardin's Creek and the Rolling Fork, as well as others to the east of St. Stephen's were assigned to Nerinckx. He lived with Badin for the next seven years, and then moved to Hardin's Creek. As it took him some six weeks to make the circuit of his missions the two were not often together. In December they preached the first Jubilee Kentucky had ever witnessed. They had a public procession from Holy Cross church to the residence of the Trappists, about a mile away, and Nerinckx gave Benediction on the road. In the spring of 1806 the two took the long road to Vincennes, where they remained a week.

It did not take Father Nerinckx long to become accustomed to the routine and necessities of the mission. Although of only average height he was built solidly without being fat. This, coupled with the speed and distance which he traveled, made it necessary for

him to have two horses. One of these, called Printer, was an outstanding animal and its services to Nerinckx, as well as its own exploits, made it a legend among the Kentucky Catholics. Despite his faulty and scant knowledge of the language, Nerinckx accomplished much in a short time. He was up long before day-break; on Sundays he would be in the saddle by four o'clock. At six-thirty he would be giving an instruction on the sacrament of penance and from the end of that until eleven o'clock he would be hearing confessions. Between one and two o'clock in the afternoon the congregation would stream out; then the priest would have baptisms or a funeral and finally eat about four o'clock. He again heard confessions in the evening until seven, or in the summer until nine o'clock.

His interests and religious pursuits were somewhat different from those of Badin. Badin had once told Carroll that "the children are my Cross, instead of my crown." Nerinckx, on the other hand, took especial delight in working with them and often had classes of ninety or more preparing for their first Communion. He had secured from the Bishop faculties to establish several different confraternities and this work, too, he zealously undertook. Soon after his arrival in Kentucky he sent back to Belgium letters to all those likely to give some material aid to the mission, and these bore fruit, not only in money, priceless pictures, vestments, and other religious articles, but even in priests. However, perhaps his most important contribution was the building of churches. He was responsible for the erection of no less than ten churches and had earned the title of "church builder" less than ten years after his entry on this mission. On November 15, 1805, he laid the cornerstone of the first of these — Holy Mary's. He stated that "this church would cost some \$400, which he intended to pay in trade. As lumber was cheap, \$50 would pay for that item. Even the hinges were to be of wood. Glass was expensive — four common-sized window panes would cost a dollar. Carpenters earned a dollar a day. Mostly the people paid in trade, and as there was so little money in circulation the current coins were cut up into pieces to suit the exigencies of business! The altar which

he designed cost \$160, part of which he himself paid. It was inlaid with different kinds of wood, and was forty feet high. This was not ready until 1808, but the church was being used in 1806."

On all his churches he tried to put a steeple, usually about twenty-three feet in height. The several paintings he had acquired from Belgium were distributed to the different churches he attended. In 1806 he also rebuilt the church on Hardin's Creek and named it after his own patron. As many of the parishioners as possible brought one or two dressed logs, cut to a certain length, to the site and on the appointed day all were on hand for the "church-raising." Nerinckx had to supply the needed whiskey, which helped the men to raise the logs in place. Nerinckx on these occasions did the work of two men; the stories of his physical strength are equal to those of Badin's mental abilities.

Badin and Nerinckx were of the same temperament. Both were considered much too strict, and this more than once led to criticism. Many people were pleased to find that the Dominicans were not so fanatical in regard to such practices as dancing and the like. This soon caused dissention. It took all the sagacity of that great prelate in Baltimore to handle this situation and the trouble continued until after the arrival of the first bishop of the see. Father Fenwick, leader of the Dominicans, sent on ahead two others, the Reverend Samuel T. Wilson and William R. Tuite. On their arrival they were given several missions to attend. When Fenwick came out with Father Robert A. Angier, they finally selected land in Washington County on Cartwright Creek, near St. Ann's church. Here was established the famed St. Rose's, the first Dominican establishment in the United States.

Even before the arrival of Fenwick, open animosity had developed between the Dominicans and the two missionaries. When Fenwick had first visited him, Badin had written with much enthusiasm about their coming, had asked the Bishop if he should not turn over to them all the church lands in Kentucky, and had even asked permission to join the Order. When the Trappist, Urban, had first appeared, Badin had the same idea about joining that Order. However, Nerinckx seems to have been prejudiced against the Dominicans, and this prejudice he communicated to Badin. Even

before the Dominicans had arrived Badin reversed his previous opinions and plans. He would give them only the land of the church which they attended. Badin wrote Carroll among other things, that "it might prove very detrimental to Religion to surrender the whole Ecclesiastical property to one order, exclusively. . . . I shall not comment on the many and valuable reasons your Reverence has adduced in your last. . . ." ¹⁷ This would seem to indicate that the Bishop, too, was opposed to giving the property to the Dominicans, even though the historian of that Order reads this passage to mean the opposite. The same writer observed that another item in this same letter must have resulted from Badin's misreading of Carroll's letter for that venerable prelate would never have said anything like "this . . . seems to confirm your observation that it is but too common among Religious to think that the splendor of their order is the greatest benefit to religion." ¹⁸ Proponents of the two factions have fought harder and more bitterly in our time than did the original figures.

With the coming of these new priests to Kentucky they naturally attracted much attention from the faithful. They were not as strict as the other two, and even allowed dancing. With preconceived prejudices, Badin and Nerinckx soon found in these less strict activities evidence of laxity, and Badin reported to Carroll that Nerinckx even suspected the purity of their faith. The Dominicans in their turn accused the other two of Jansenistic tendencies. The letters to the Bishop continued until 1810 and would fill a volume. Had it remained a matter of personal but private animadversion the affair would have been bad enough, but it became worse by the growth of factions among the people, so that added to the priests' missives there also traveled to Baltimore letters and petitions from the congregations. One of these, reproduced with its own peculiar spelling, punctuation, etc., will be enough to illustrate the trouble of this time.

June the 27th 1806

Most Reverend Father

I signed a petition which was sent to you but I find myself so much disturbed and several of my acquaintance that we cannot forbear saying something by letter seeing the Reverend

Mr. Badin and Mr. Nerrinkx so much disturb In particular Mr. Nerrinkx, who is not so well acquainted with such stiff necked people as we have in Kentucky, as what Mr. Badin is, he is able for them but he says he will leave us If Mr. Nerinkx does. and then we shall be left in a worse situation than we was at first. Most Reverend father it appears to me that Sattin has been ever waging war with Mr. Badin to destroy religion in Kentucky But Mr. Badin has ever been his master thanks be to God for his blessing. But now the Devil has struck at the root by geting a few loos catholicks to write and talk about those good men. I hope By your fatherly assistance and good prayers, and the good prayers of the faithfull of your diocess that Heaven will not permit us to be so severally scurged as to take those good men from us That Almighty God would grant us the blessing to keep these and send us aplenty of other priests as Zealous as those good men to assist them in their ministry and lighten their burdin for Mr. Badin has went through heat, Cold wet dry by day and by night to serve us and often without pocket mony to pay the ferrage without borrowing as I was credibly informd, and by neither of the gentlemen I got my information. Most Holy father you must know there is a good many judases in Kentucky that will meet the priest kneel down and call him ghostly father and ask his blessing but if the priest tells them of their disorderly life or asks them for a little mony for church purposes then they will say that he is a covitous hard priest and they will not only gabble among themselvs but even among Protestents. I have often heard Mr Badin say that he was affraid he should be caried to a justice of the pease for mony which he had thought prudently laid out for the use of the church and the good of them all the trustees then would turn out amongst the congagation and perhaps not get to the amount of two dollars Numbers of them murmuring and saying that Mr. Badin had known buisness and still that good fatherly man would not refuse to hear them if they would humble themselvs I have frequently heard Mr. Badin tell them that all he was doing aming at was for the establishing church and the good of his flock and that if he thought thear was one drop of blood in his vains that was not for that intention he would have it out of his body and I and each of us that sets our names to this letter belevs the Reverend Mr. Nerinkx more zealous if possible and we do sincerely pray the father of mercies and likewise you most Holy father to leave those with us and send us others to assit them in the Holy minstry as Zealous as those good men. I must conclude by ading that I and each of us believe that no

catholic in Kentucky can find any fault with those good men but such as love liberty and pleasure more than Almighty God or their own soul. We are Most Holy Father Yours with all other Bishops and priest of the churchs well wishers and we do lament sincearly all those who will not be governd by the Holy mother the church.

Thomas Howard
Wm Coomes^{*Snr}
Enoch Coomes
David McGill¹⁹

Carroll had to steer a close course and the fact that he managed it is further evidence that in their first bishop Providence had indeed favored the Catholics of the United States. Many call the venerated prelate "great" or refer to him in some such general tones with little knowledge of the reason for the terms beyond that of being the first bishop. Those who are intimately acquainted with his grievous problems know that there could have been then no better selection for the see and realize that his greatness has hardly been surpassed.

This trouble, as well as incidents preceding it confirmed Bishop Carroll's belief that one of the new sees contemplated must be among the numerous Catholics of Kentucky. For some time he had been studying the project. As early as October, 1804, he had requested Badin to send him an immediate report on the establishment of a see in that territory. Long before that Badin himself had been pleading not only for more priests but also for a bishop, while his last desire on that score had been communicated to the Bishop as late as February of this year. In his report he agreed with Carroll that the see should include the states of Kentucky and Tennessee. He felt that it should be at Bardstown, Danville, or Lexington. He gave the best points of the three towns in their relation to the intended bishopric. Badin also briefly adverted to the support of a bishop and the land situation. The next year Badin again took up this subject, telling the Bishop that he was convinced six more priests besides a bishop were needed, as well as "the expected Gentlemen for the education of youth." In October of 1805 he again discussed the land situation and stated that the land near Bardstown ought to be reserved for a bishop "who

probably will have a living also (thirty-six acres) in the suburbs of the Town, having received an assurance from a Catholic without heirs that such was his intention." In the meantime Father Nerinckx had, soon after his arrival in Kentucky, also strongly urged the necessity of a bishop for that region.

In the spring of 1807, Badin left for Baltimore, there to make a report to the Bishop and to discuss with him the problems of Kentucky. These included not only the establishment of the see there and possible candidates for it, but also such matters as the foundation of a new sisterhood which he and Nerinckx were planning and for which they already had candidates. They received approbation for the project, but when the building which was built for the community burned down before it was even occupied Badin gave it up for that time as he was out of funds.

As the news began to circulate among the congregations that a bishop was being considered for Kentucky there was consternation among many lest Badin be named to that position. That is one explanation for the disturbances and the outcry against Badin in the winter of 1807-1808. In this episode, which centered especially in the parish of St. Michael, even the Dominican, Tuite, was attacked by the malcontents when he and Nerinckx tried to defend Badin, then absent. That Carroll had confidence in Nerinckx seems evident from the fact that the latter was named Administrator for Louisiana. Nerinckx refused the post, but Carroll persisted for some time in believing he could be forced to accept it. Queerly enough, not only did Father Badin aid him in petitioning the Bishop not to make him accept this place, but the Dominican priests did likewise. In 1809 Bishop Carroll was still trying to persuade him to go there.

Badin's name was naturally considered for Kentucky. Nerinckx was asked his opinion of his confrere. His reply was not enthusiastic, although it may seem odd to have him say that "his zeal . . . has perhaps, a little too much of the French fervor, is of more than necessary rigidity, and if tempered with a little more of the honey of kindness would be more palatable to his people . . . he loves piety, from the exercise of which he is perhaps a little prevented because of his love for society. . . ." This report he sent to the

Bishop in June of 1806. Some time later, while the matter was still pending, Nerinckx described the situation thus to friends in Belgium:

Kentucky has not yet its bishop, and our people are very anxious to learn who he will be. A great many conjectures are made. Many are of the opinion that my host, the Vicar General, will be appointed. In that case, my burdens would be doubled, if such a thing could be possible. I would be obliged to assume the care of his congregations, which count about two thousand souls. Even now he urges me to do so, in order to give him the opportunity of visiting the more distant stations, a thing which is very necessary. The Vicar General is a Frenchman, born in Orleans, thirty-nine years of age, of small stature, well-built, of pleasant disposition, good morals, and great piety; grey, strong and healthy, standing the hardships of missionary life well, the first priest ordained by the Bishop of Baltimore, well qualified for business affairs, and, in my opinion, suited for the episcopal dignity. He is, so to speak, the founder of the Church in Kentucky.²⁰

Almost as soon as he came back from Baltimore in the spring of 1808 Badin was gone again, first to Knoxville, Tennessee, and then to Vincennes, Indiana. He did not expect to be bishop of Kentucky, or he would probably have stayed home. While in Baltimore he had recommended to Carroll rather the appointment of his old companion, Flaget, and Carroll must have been pleased by this recommendation, as he wrote a friend of Nerinckx that "the nomination of Flaget to fill the see was of a man who, under the present circumstances, seems destined by Providence to unite all differences of opinion in the diocese confided to his paternal solicitude."²¹

Three

ALTHOUGH it was seventeen years after Badin reached Kentucky when Flaget joined him, the names of the two men are so irrevocably interwoven in the history of Catholicism in that state that one often loses sight of the intervening years during which Providence was preparing the humble Sulpician for the exalted role he was to take. In the first years before the withdrawal of Flaget from Vincennes their destiny seemed almost identical. Flaget had left for his post before the ordination of Badin. Yet, it was but a year after Father Flaget's lonely trip across the Alleghenies that Badin was walking along the same road to Pittsburgh. While Badin was saying his first Mass in Kentucky and starting his priestly career in Scott County, Flaget was fighting the small pox at Vincennes, in the neighboring state. Had Flaget remained there, Badin would not have been deprived of the sacrament of penance. As he was five years younger than Flaget and was on his first assignment he would have profited by the proximity of the more experienced priest. However, the thirty-four year old Flaget was recalled right at the time Badin had to experience one of those depressing periods of priestly solitude.

After his return from Post Vincennes in November, 1795, Flaget remained at Georgetown College for about three years, teaching French and geography. While here he met George Washington twice, and the President made a profound impression upon the Frenchman. Flaget's favorite student at this college was Benedict I. Fenwick, who became one of his colleagues in the episcopacy, as bishop of Boston. Soon the Jesuits had increased to such numbers that the Sulpicians were no longer needed at George-

town. During this period Father Peter Babad had been in Havana and on his return to Baltimore brought a request from some of the inhabitants for the establishment of a Sulpician college there, so he, Father William L. V. DuBourg, and Flaget were selected for the purpose.

Flaget left Baltimore in November, 1798, for Cuba. However, before these plans were put into execution an unexpected obstacle arose, and the poor Sulpicians found themselves forbidden even to say Mass in Havana. Ecclesiastical affairs were in the hands of two brothers who served as vicars-general, acting for an infirm archbishop. They could not be moved from their adamant opposition to the presence of the Sulpicians who were forced to return to Baltimore without accomplishing anything. Flaget was left behind by his two companions as he took the yellow fever on the eve of departure. His plight aroused the sympathy of many, and he had all the attention he could have required. On his recovery, a wealthy Spaniard, Don Nicholas Calvo, took him into his family and asked him to act as tutor to his son. Flaget agreed to do so if his superiors gave their consent, and if permission were secured for him to celebrate Mass. His superiors gave consent, but the Vicars were still hopelessly prejudiced against the foreigner. Shortly before the time limit set by Flaget expired, the Archbishop died and the administration of the diocese passed automatically to other hands. Flaget immediately received the necessary faculties and celebrated his first Mass in Havana in the church of the Capuchins. Although many others importuned him to take on their sons' education, Flaget felt bound to accept no other student. While with the Calvo family he learned to speak Spanish fluently. He also became acquainted with the exiled royal family of France then in Havana and when the inhabitants of the city collected a sum of money to give them on their departure Flaget was chosen to present it to Louis Philippe and his brothers. The affection between the Calvos and the priest grew, and they made him tempting offers to persuade him to remain permanently. The uncertainty of his position with them was brought to an abrupt end by the untimely death of the forty-two year old patrician in May of 1801.

In November Flaget returned to Baltimore, bringing with him not only Calvo's son but also some twenty-two other boys who were to be educated in the college at Baltimore. Flaget then was rejoined to his community in the seminary at Baltimore, where he again took up the duties of professor for the next seven years. He served in various missions and churches occasionally when called upon to do so.¹ At odd times he also was asked to act as prison chaplain and to administer the comforts of religion to those condemned to die.² Although this was most repugnant to his nature he did not think he ought to refuse to do it. He told his brother that "you must know that in spite of the kindness of our government few rascals are escaping justice while in Europe one would be very much embarrassed if they were to hang all those who deserve it."³

During this period the long struggle between France and England had been renewed, and as the Embargo law was passed communication between this country and Europe became much more difficult. Many of the letters of Flaget and his people in France were lost, and as months sometimes passed with no word from his family the priest would become more and more melancholy. At one time, because of this state of affairs he became sick with a fever which stayed with him for two months. Upon the reception of a letter this immediately left him and he became his old gay self. Often he sighed for his homeland although warning his brother that they should become accustomed to the idea of their not seeing each other again in this world, for even though he hoped to return "it is very difficult to uproot a tree which for seventeen years has been in good ground."⁴ He had become an American, and although he always retained his French characteristics and mind, his sympathies were with his adopted country. In letters home he tried to describe America to his family; he spoke of the Embargo, of the growth of manufacturing, of the taste of Americans in dress and food. With almost the same lyrical praise of life in America as that of the French philosophers he wrote of the American institutions and the American simplicity of life, and lamented the gradual involvement of the United States in European affairs.

In speaking of the state of religion in France and of the scandals of certain former clerics he exclaimed that he blessed Providence every day for his fortune in being "in a country where peace and liberty of conscience reign in their fullest extent and although surrounded by heretics we walk with our heads high and speak of all religions with more freedom than you do in France. Our Catholics are not numerous in comparison with all the other sects put together, but in general they are fervent, especially in rural areas."⁵ He described the work of the Sulpicians, spoke frequently with enthusiasm of Bishop Carroll, Father DuBourg, and others. Of Carroll, he said, "This good man of seventy-five is still enjoying perfect health, hears confessions every day, preaches nearly every Sunday and visits the sick . . . what a crown that he will receive at the end of his days."⁶ So, although sometimes he grew homesick, and sometimes even became physically ill through loneliness, nevertheless he was happy in his humble work. When Father Badin came to Baltimore in the spring of 1807 to discuss the situation in Kentucky his conversation with the Bishop was confidential, and no hint of his recommendation of Flaget was expressed by Badin on the various occasions when the two men visited.

In his letter to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda recommending Flaget for the episcopacy Carroll had said: "He is at least forty years of age; of a tender piety towards God; of most bland manners; and if not profoundly, at least sufficiently imbued with theological knowledge." Although Carroll had included the names of Badin, Nerinckx, and Wilson, the Holy See chose Flaget.

"It is a Sulpician who was appointed for Bardstown, but he refused."⁷ With this statement Flaget dismissed, in a long letter home, his nomination to the projected bishopric of the West. The move to make a bishop of the humble seminary professor had been a profound shock to his nerves. For some time there had been speculation among the clergy of Baltimore about the new sees and their incumbents. Persistent rumor had fixed upon the person of John David as the future bishop of Bardstown. In fact, the rumor was so insistent that he himself had decided that if it were true he would ask his friend, Flaget, to accompany him

to the West. Father Flaget was on a temporary assignment at Emmitsburg in the early autumn when word of the Bulls of Appointment arrived in Baltimore, and he hurried down to the city. The first person he met coming down the seminary steps was David, who immediately offered him his services for the new diocese. For the next several months all of Flaget's energy and efforts were spent in trying to escape the honor. In this he was motivated chiefly by the humble estimate of his own qualifications. He kept repeating to Carroll that he had not the theological knowledge necessary for such a high position. His humility and distress finally communicated itself to his clerical colleagues and they began to doubt the wisdom of his appointment. After making a novena for guidance a delegation led by Father Nagot, presented themselves before Carroll to protest the move and told Carroll they had made their decision to aid Flaget in his refusal after much prayer and meditation. Bishop Carroll did not take kindly to their opposition and after listening to their plea he burst out indignantly with that classical reply: "What, Gentlemen! You have prayed! Think you, then, that before proposing your brother I did not pray, and that the Cardinals who surround the Holy Father and the Sovereign Pontiff himself, did not pray? Well, I tell you plainly that Mr. Flaget must accept." Flaget himself became ill over the news and wrote letter after letter to the Bishop with new reasons in each of them for refusing the office. On October 24, 1808, he wrote Carroll:

Though I was told yesterday by Mr. David that in a few days I would receive from you a favorable answer; I cant help however, entertaining some doubts about the satisfaction it will afford me. To be plain with you I am afraid you wait only for some answers from the different parts, where, formerly I exercised my ministry, which according to all probability, being full of compliments for my promotion, you will then urge them against me as a new proof I must accept and will pay very little attention to all my arguments to refuse. Were it the case, my situation would be indeed more distressing but my resolution would still remain the same, because the motives of my refusal should not be altered in the least. . . . After so positive a declaration I beg of you with tears in my eyes to let me forever enjoy unmolested the humble post I

occupy which suits me a thousand times better than the conspicuous one I had obtained thru your goodness; and without presuming too much I am confident I will prove more useful to your diocese in remaining in the college than in going to Kentucky as a bishop.⁸

Later in the winter, for some reason, he seems to have become easier in mind as he thought he had won his point. Meanwhile, he had written Father Emery of his predicament, pleading with that superior to second his efforts at Rome. After a long interval, hearing nothing from the Superior General, he decided to go to see him, but as Father DuBourg feared such a trip might result in the complete loss of his colleague he opposed the trip. Flaget gave in to DuBourg's protests and maintained an uneasy vigil. The long suspense was due to the conditions of war in Europe. The official briefs of appointment were a long time in coming, and Carroll was prevented from going forward with the consecration of the new bishops because of this lack of documents. Rome had created four new sees, with Carroll as metropolitan or archbishop. These new sees were to be located at Bardstown, Philadelphia, Boston, and New York. Bishops for the first three, Fathers Benedict J. Flaget, S.S., Michael Egan, O.F.M., and John Cheverus were residents of America. The bishop of New York, a Dominican, Father Richard Luke Concanen, was a resident of Rome. He was well posted on American affairs, and had been acting as Carroll's agent in Rome. He was consecrated at once in Rome, and given the official papers for the creation of the new sees and bishops in order to expedite their dispatch to America. One difficulty after another prevented his sailing, and these were culminated by his removal at Naples from a ship ready to sail for the United States. This was too much for his spirit, and a few days later he died. But before this he had made copies of the official papers and sent them to friends for transmission to America. The originals seem to have been lost or destroyed by the French government.

Flaget unexpectedly was to be himself the bearer of the authority upon which Bishop Carroll acted in consecrating his suffragans. The suspense became unbearable to his sensitive

nature, so late in 1809, with the consent of the majority of his colleagues, he sailed for France to seek some positive assurance from the Superior General that he would not have to accept. He hurried to Father Emery as soon as he arrived in France. Although Emery's reception of him was a shock, it nevertheless was decisive. The Superior-General's severe greeting, "My Lord, you should have been already in your diocese, the Pope has given you an express order to accept" left Flaget in no doubt as to his attitude and explained his former silence. Emery disapproved of the opposition of the American Sulpicians to the appointment, and especially disliked Flaget's trip to Europe, for he feared for his safe return and did not see how men and equipment could be brought to America in such perilous times. Flaget only then bowed his head in resignation; he felt it was the will of God and that no alternative remained. Emery's rebuke was softened by his amusing gesture of presenting the Bishop-elect with a box of needles and a cookbook, with the remark that he did not trust the culinary arts of the savages of America and that Flaget would be able to make good use of both objects. Emery also agreed that Flaget would retain all the spiritual privileges of the Sulpician society and would be regarded as still a member of the society. He also received from someone in France a duplicate copy of the official papers for the erection of the archdiocese and the four dioceses and the appointments of the bishops. The originals had been dated on April 8, 1808. The newly created Archbishop of Baltimore acted by virtue of the duplicates brought back by Flaget, when he consecrated his suffragans and set up the new dioceses.⁹

As soon as he had finished these matters of business Flaget hurried to his family home in Billom. Forty-six years previously, on November 7, in a small neighboring town of Contournat, Benoit had been born after his father's death. The first wife of his father had borne him two daughters; his second wife had presented him with three sons. Two years after Benedict's birth his mother also died, and an aunt then took charge of the boys. A short time later his father's brother, who was canon of the collegiate church of Billom, removed the entire family to his

own house. Here the boys were given all the advantages of the educational process of the time, as well as the personal supervision of the priest-uncle. They did not disappoint their uncle; the oldest and the youngest became priests, the second a notary public. At the age of seventeen Benedict had been sent to the episcopal city of Clermont, and at the university there studied his philosophy and theology. The seminary was under the Sulpicians, and Benedict entered it with a free scholarship sponsored by the diocese under Bishop De Bonald. That Bishop ordained him to the subdiaconate, and then gave him permission to enter the Society, just before his twentieth year. Although he had completed his courses of study he was too young for ordination, so was sent to the Sulpician retreat house at Issy for further study and preparation for ordination. Gabriel Richard, who was also to make his fame in America, was superior here. After ordination, in 1788 Flaget was made professor of dogmatic theology at the seminary of Nantes, and two years later was taken by the new rector of the seminary of Angers for the same position there. Shortly after this the French Revolution broke out, and the young priest was forced into hiding and finally in 1791, returned home to live with his family at Billom.

Now his flight from Billom to America was seventeen years in the past. Only a short time before he had told his brother that they would probably never see each other again, yet now he was returning to the old scenes a bishop-elect. What emotions must have turned him inside out as he reviewed his life since his birth and his departure from France. Although it was a different France, a child of Revolutions and even then war torn, it was his home, and he met with joy his family and friends. These tried to persuade him to be consecrated in his native land, but with characteristic thoughtfulness and gaiety he observed that Bishop Carroll must finish what he had begun. With the wisdom that was to be revealed so often in the administration of his diocese, he sought in France for what was his most urgent need — men. Father Levadoux, whom he had met at Louisville when each was on the way to distant missions in the West, had returned to France and was superior of a seminary. Flaget turned to him

for aid because he felt Levadoux was aware of the conditions and would best know what men would fit them. He managed to get together a band of missionaries and then made plans for a speedy departure. In the spring of 1810, from Bordeaux, there sailed with him, Simon Bruté, Guy Chabrat, Anthony Deydier, James Derigaud, and Julian Romeuf. The first two of these young men were to become bishops in their adopted land, both to be consecrated by Flaget. As the war was in progress, their ship was chased, twice held by British warships, and once even hauled into port. After a stormy, eventful voyage the band arrived in America; more than three months had they been on their way and it was a weary, older Flaget who presented the happy Archbishop of Baltimore with the long awaited, eagerly desired briefs.

Sometime after his return Flaget began a retreat of forty days to prepare himself for the great event of consecration. The new Archbishop, Carroll, consecrated first the Franciscan Michael Egan as Bishop of Philadelphia on October 28, and then, on All Saints' Day, the stately John Cheverus as Bishop of Boston. Both these ceremonies took place in the protocathedral, St. Peter's. Three days later, on the feast of St. Charles Borromeo, the unusual solemn ceremony was repeated for the third time, although not in the cathedral. Flaget's consecration was perhaps even more stirring than those preceding. The two new bishops acted as co-consecrators to the Archbishop. The three marching into the little St. Patrick's Church, at Fells Point, in their full pontificals, made the occasion historical. Flaget himself related that ". . . the ceremony of our consecrations . . . was really brilliant and edifying."

Flaget trembled as the Apostolic Mandate was read, took the usual oath with firmness, and underwent with equanimity the examination, answering firmly "I will" to the question: "Will you, with God's help and with every effort on your part, abstain in your conduct from all evil, and direct it entirely toward every good?" He promised to abstain from worldly affairs and from sordid lusts of gain, to observe humility and patience, to be affable and merciful to the poor and the homeless and all those in need. He swore to a belief in the Holy Trinity, the Son of God, born

of Mary ever Virgin, who suffered, rose from the dead, and ascended into heaven, and he finished the long examination of his Faith by anathematizing every heresy arising against the holy Catholic Church. After these two ceremonies came the Mass celebrated by both; Archbishop Carroll at the main altar and Flaget at a side altar.

As the Mass of St. Charles began even the most phlegmatic were thrilled as the solemn voice of the Archbishop intoned, "Státuit ei Dóminus testaméntum pacis, et princípem fecit eum: ut sit illi sacerdótii dígnitas in aetérnum." [The Lord made to him a covenant of peace, and made him a prince; that the dignity of priesthood should be to him forever.]

After the Oration the three mitred bishops sat down and the Consecrator turning to the Bishop-Elect said, "A bishop judges, interprets, consecrates, ordains, offers, baptizes, and confirms." After another prayer, the bishops and Flaget prostrated themselves on the floor before the altar and the long majestic Litany of the Saints started. With the concluding "Te rogámus, audi nos" to the chant "That thou wouldst vouchsafe to bless and sanctify and consecrate this Elect here present" the dreaded moment was at hand. All arose and Flaget knelt before them. Archbishop Carroll, with the aid of Bishop Egan and Bishop Cheverus, took the heavy book of the Gospels and in silence placed it on the neck and shoulders of Father Flaget. This symbol of the burden of the episcopacy was held there by a priest kneeling behind him. The three bishops standing before the kneeling bishop-elect, held both hands outstretched on his head. A pause, and there rang out:

Accipe Spíritum Sanctum

The *Veni Créator Spíritus*, that hymn already nine centuries old and used on like occasions innumerable times, then signalized the anointing of the head. As one ceremony followed another in the Mass the crowd followed with close attention. Flaget lost all sense of time; often he was scarcely conscious of those about him. As the Archbishop blessed the episcopal regalia, the miter, the crozier, the cross, the ring, and the gloves, the newly conse-

crated man was more and more aware of his office. Each prayer over them brought this more home to him. When he handed the crozier to Flaget the Archbishop said:

Receive the staff of the pastoral office, so that in the correction of vices you may be lovingly severe, giving judgments without wrath, softening the minds of your hearers whilst fostering virtues, not neglecting strictness of discipline through love of tranquillity.

During the eloquent sermon of Bishop Cheverus the Archbishop wept. It was finally over, and Father Flaget was Bishop Flaget now as he emerged from St. Patrick's, the sixth bishop consecrated for the United States. Flaget was to occupy the exalted position in the West that Carroll held in the Church of the United States as a whole. For each day of his Retreat there was to be a corresponding year of his episcopate and the burden was often as heavy as was the book upon his neck at the time of consecration.

The dinner and the festivities later seemed almost as much a dream to the emotional Frenchman. Even much later he could scarcely realize what had taken place. He told his sister that "although it has been more than a month since I was invested with this dignity, it is more by the ring that I wear on my finger and the Cross on my breast that I recognize in myself a bishop, than by the talents and virtue which are so necessary to fulfill functions so sublime."¹⁰ He also remarked then that despite his ardent desire to join his flock at once, the weather was such that he probably would not be able to start for his diocese until spring. However, it was not only the rigors of winter that kept him in Baltimore. For some time he could not find enough money to pay the expenses of the trip to Bardstown, so he continued to stay at the seminary. He himself had no money; neither the Archbishop nor the Sulpicians could advance him enough to pay for the trip West. He wrote to his new Vicar-General, Father Badin, about his embarrassment. Badin tried to collect the necessary sum from the Kentuckians, but soon had to suspend even the attempt as the Catholic body was simply too poor, and neither Badin nor Flaget wished the new bishop to arrive among his flock in an

atmosphere of resentment. Flaget wrote Badin that he would much rather walk all the way from Baltimore than to cause criticism. He expected to bring seven or eight companions and they had agreed that their one horse would be used by David, as he was least able to walk. In the meantime, friends began to take up a subscription in Baltimore to defray the cost of the Bishop's journey to Kentucky.

Ten days after the consecration of Flaget, Carroll called the three bishops into a series of conferences on the discipline of the Church in the United States. They decided not to hold a Provincial Council until all were better acquainted with their dioceses. The date for this was set tentatively for November, 1812, at the latest. In the conferences they discussed some of the problems regarded as most serious and issued a joint declaration on several matters they felt ought to be immediately aired. In some eighteen regulations, signed jointly by the bishops on November 19, 1810, they laid down particular rules for the administration of the Church.

Among these was a warning to priests not to admit to the sacraments those who belonged to "the association called Freemasons" and to discourage the faithful from attending too frequently theaters and dancing assemblies. They ruled that baptisms should be performed only in the Church, and stated that marriages ought to be celebrated there also. They pointed out that unknown priests must exhibit authentic proofs of a bishop's permission before being permitted to exercise clerical functions.

Besides these and matters such as the calling of synods, episcopal visitations, nominations of bishops, the use of the Douay Bible and of Latin for church services, the bishops also noted the obligation of priests to keep a parish Register, and promised that a uniform mode of giving Benediction would be sent by each bishop to his clergy. Two interesting regulations were the following: "On account of the rise in provisions and other necessities of life the contribution for a Mass is now fixed at fifty cents," and "Perpetual vows of chastity ought not to be advised or even allowed to individuals or pious associations of persons of either sex who are not members of some approved religious Order."

A few days before, they had issued a letter of protest against

the captivity of Pope Pius VII. Toward the end of the month the first joint encyclical letter of the American hierarchy was sent to Archbishop Troy of Dublin. In it they again spoke with indignation of the plight of the Pope, of the necessity to examine carefully any document which might issue from his prison in order to be positive of its authenticity, and stated their determination "that no one is to be recognized as the true successor of St. Peter, unless he be accepted as such by far the greater part of the Episcopate of the whole world, and by nearly the entire Catholic people." This was in reply to a like document emanating from the hierarchy of Ireland and was a warning to Napoleon that he should not try to dictate the papal succession if the pope he had in captivity should die on his hands.¹¹

After these things were accomplished the bishops were to leave for their new posts. Cheverus and Egan immediately set out for the East. Poor Flaget remained in Baltimore during the rest of the winter. He could talk and plan for the future, but no action was possible. The seven priests and some 6000 Catholics of the Blue Grass state waited anxiously for the spring to reveal what kind of man was coming to Kentucky.

In the second week of May, 1811, Bishop Flaget and his companions left Baltimore. They took the usual route to Pittsburgh, traveling most of the way by stage coach. They had the same experiences most of the travelers had in that day; rain, horrible roads, a fight between some soldiers at the inn in Gettysburg, abandonment of part of their baggage to satisfy the driver, riding in the coach like "sardines in a can," broken axles on the coach, and of course, finally, the overturning of the coach in a particularly bad spot. The sole occupant at that time, one of the seminarians, was badly shaken and frightened, but unhurt. Father Savine and Chabrat, following behind the coach, got lost for a day. Another day, to keep the driver satisfied, Flaget made "only a small run of twenty-four miles." On Sunday they arrived at the top of the Allegheny Mountains, and after confession Flaget had the Mass.¹² At Pittsburgh they were met by Father Fenwick, who was returning from Maryland with several other Dominicans. The young Dominican companions of Fenwick took all the horses by land

through Ohio, while Fenwick joined the Bishop and his companions to travel by water.

They chartered a flatboat fifty-one feet by twelve feet for the journey down the Ohio. Three priests, three seminarians, three servants, and the pilot made up the personnel. Father David wrote a long account of the trip back to his friends in Baltimore, under the heading "Pentecost — On the Ohio near Big Bone Lick 583½ miles from Pittsburgh, near the shores of Kentucky." These eleven days had been the most tranquil of their trip. He described the boat, the altar, the daily routine which started at four o'clock in the morning, the constant beauty of the river and the country through which they glided. This "Ark" was the foundation of their seminary and of the Church in Kentucky, he pointed out. To those who have read the accounts of the pioneer immigration down the Ohio River the story is a familiar one, with the exception of the religious tone and exercises. The priests took part in the daily work as well, "all knowing how to man the oars, keeping watch in turn, with book in hand marking all the places we pass, counting faithfully the hundreds of miles passed and the hundreds still to go."

Writing to Father Emery in Paris about the adventures of these "modern Apostles," Bruté stated: "You would think you were reading Chateaubriand, but here is delightful reality." The Ohio was always the River Beautiful. David mentions with enthusiasm again and again the impressions its beauty makes on them: ". . . the superb curtain of trees . . . only in two or three places can we see a stretch of eight or ten miles. . . . Here and there a small stream pours in . . . and near its mouth a little town presents a picture of the industry and progress of a free nation and an ever-increasing population. . . . Our ears are delighted by the melodious sounds of thousands of birds that warble in the charming groves. . . ." They stopped at these small towns or at a plantation to get fresh milk and eggs. On June 4, 1811, they reached Louisville, where they were cordially received by a French Catholic friend of Badin's, Mr. Tarascon. The Catholics had already started a church and expected to have the roof on it by winter. David noted the flourishing condition of Louisville,

remarking that because of the falls boats had to stop there three months of the year and from it most of the towns in Kentucky got their merchandise.¹³ For two days the travelers awaited the arrival of Father Badin, who never appeared, but on June 7, at four o'clock in the morning, Father Nerinckx came instead. He had traveled all night, and even through a storm. They rented four wagons to carry the baggage. The bulk of this was books; the Sulpicians had given them every duplicate copy in their library. In the meantime, a carriage, driven by the son of one of the influential men of Bardstown, arrived in Louisville to take the Bishop to his destination. Horses were provided for the rest. The road was so rough, however, that the Bishop had to get out and walk part of the way, until one of the seminarians came up and gave him his horse. Friday night they reached the home of Mr. Thompson, and the seven slept in one room. They were on their way again before sunup and came into the town between nine and ten o'clock on Saturday, June 8. A mile and a half from town they were met by one of the priests and many of the inhabitants.¹⁴ All these swung off their horses for his blessing as the Bishop approached. Describing the scene to his brother in France, Bishop Flaget said:

This cortège, though simple and modest in itself, is something very new and extraordinary in this country. It was the first time a bishop was ever seen in these parts [deserts]; . . . In entering the town, I devoted myself to all the guardian angels who reside therein, and I prayed to God, with all my heart, to make me die a thousand times, should I not become an instrument of His glory in this new Diocese. . . .¹⁵

The Bishop and his companions then were put up at the house of Mr. Sanders, who was one of the half dozen Catholics in the town. David was somewhat chagrined to find the chapel was not even well constructed, the altar made of loose boards, and the episcopal "palace" almost falling to pieces. Nevertheless they still felt that Bardstown was the best place for the see, and that the people there would soon take proper notice of their coming as it was rumored that Danville, Lexington, and Frankfort intended to make very advantageous offers to the Bishop to get him to move to

those places. Sunday they said Mass at Bardstown, and the next day set out for Badin's where they all arrived in the evening near four o'clock. Here, at the chapel of St. Stephen's the formal installation of the Bishop in his diocese took place. The clergy and a large group of the people, anxious to see the new bishop, were gathered. The people were kneeling in the grass singing hymns in English; the women were dressed in white and a large number of these were still fasting as they had hoped yet to attend his Mass and receive Communion from his hands. An outside altar had been set up, under the spreading branches of four small trees. At this point the Bishop put on his pontifical robes, and after the aspersion of the holy water, all moved in procession to the chapel, singing the Litany of the Blessed Virgin. There the ceremonies and prayers of installation prescribed by the Church concluded the formal event. The Bishop then was presented to the people and talked with them in small groups as they left the clearing to ride home. Thus, came the first Bishop of the West to his vast see, which he was to grace for the next forty years.

Four

EVEN within the next few days the discerning began to realize that here at last there had come to Kentucky what all, saints and sinners alike, so ardently had longed to see — a shepherd of the flock, without guile and without conceit, who could rule and yet not wound, who could be respected but also loved. The tall, well-proportioned figure, reaching almost six feet, was soon a familiar sight in the Catholic settlements. Bishop Carroll's prophecy and hope that in Flaget all factions would be united and all dissensions halted was soon to be realized. He was, of course, a direct contrast to his Vicar-General and the relief from the stern control of Badin made his coming doubly welcome. As David said ". . . they have been directed to now with 'an iron rod'; that contributes in no small measure toward making us loved." The few priests too were very happy for in the person of the Bishop the voice of authority could be obeyed without doubt, hesitation, or cavil. His kindly face, sweetness of manner and temperament attracted all types to him. Every person who came into contact with him was immediately struck by these qualities and every written statement about him emphasized "sweetness of character."

Benjamin J. Webb, one of his own parishioners, said of him: "Among the remembrances of my childhood, there are none more distinct than those which refer to Bishop Flaget. I cannot remember when his features were not as familiar to me as were those of my own parents. . . . To a noble stature and commanding presence, there were united in him the most polished manners and the most benign expression of features. An in-born dignity

that was as suave as it was unaffected, and an easy grace that was at all times charming, characterized both his movements and his speech. The expression of his eyes varied with his emotions, and of these they spoke so clearly that none had to look beyond them to learn his thought affecting themselves. Both the worldly afflicted and the spiritually tainted found reason to hope when those tender eyes beamed upon them, humid with sympathy. Their light was rarely clouded by sternness, and none ever saw them flash with anger. That he was revered by his priests and entire flock would not be telling half the story of their relationship. He was one of those toward whom the hearts of men went out loaded down with personal affection. His people recognized in him an exponent of that philosophy which demanded of them no effort of elucidation; that was its own interpreter, its own index, pointing the way to their swift footsteps and faithful following.

“It is a singular fact that Bishop Flaget, throughout his entire life in Kentucky, suffered no malignment of character from any source. He carried in his face the signet of a pure conscience and a benevolent heart, and so marked were the evidences of his devotion to God, to principle, and to the best interests of humanity, that not even sectarian rancor could find in him a target for its shafts. Unable to say ought against him, the bigots of his day were in the habit of describing him as a man whose virtues were natural and ingrained, and who owed nothing to his religion for those qualities and properties of heart and mind which won for him so large a measure of popular respect and homage. In the days to which I refer, and for many years afterwards, Bishop Flaget was eminently a worker. He was in the habit of sharing with his clergy the multifarious labors of their ministry. No less prompt than these, he was to be seen at the altar, in the confessional, in the pulpit, on the road in answer to sick-calls: wherever, indeed, the exigencies of the occasion led him to believe that he might be in any wise serviceable to religion and the welfare of souls. He enjoyed no exemption from labor that was engaged in by his priests and seminarians, sharing it often in a greater degree. With these latter, he took his meals, eating

of the same food, which was always plain and sometimes scanty, and discounting no rule of the house in his own favor, but rather using his supreme authority to mitigate its rigor in favor of his subordinates."¹

Only the day after his installation did the Bishop and his tired companions have time to survey the quarters Badin had arranged for them at St. Stephen's. They were to join the long list of clerical guests that had been extended Badin's hospitality. However, he had managed, at considerable labor to himself, to increase the facilities. Of them David wrote Bruté:

. . . Badin was good enough to have an episcopal palace built, that is, a log house, but substantial enough, consisting of one large room with an attic above; that is all. We are to lodge in different buildings. . . . Our seminarians have their room apart, where they sleep and carry out their exercises; we call it the Seminary. . . . I live in a large detached building, which has two rooms and a small study; the latter is my place of abode and the two rooms are occupied by Mr. Badin and Mr. Nerinckx. Another adjacent building is our refectory and our chapel; they are separated by folding doors. In this building there is a garret, where domestics sleep. Our servants have their monastery, the housekeepers have theirs and the negroes occupy two or three nearby. All this forms a sort of small village, and some places in the United States are honored with the name of towns which are not as deserving of the name as is ours.²

Here they made their headquarters for the next five months, and here they made the initial plans for the establishment of the Church in the West.

The actual jurisdiction of the Bishop was widespread. In asking aid from his countrymen he had written:

. . . not only I had not a cent in my purse, but I was compelled to borrow nearly two thousand francs [about \$380] in order to reach my destination. Thus, without money, without a house, without property, almost without any acquaintance I found myself in the midst of a Diocese, two or three times larger than all France, containing five large states and two immense territories, and myself speaking the language too, very imperfectly. Add to all this, that almost all the Catholics were emigrants, but newly settled, and poorly furnished.³

His see was the entire Northwest, that is, the territory between the Great Lakes on the north and the thirty-fifth degree of north latitude on the south, from the Alleghenies in the east to the Mississippi River in the west. It consisted of the states of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio, and the later-created states of Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, and half of Arkansas. The last eight states named were but part of territories when Flaget became bishop, but over that vast territory his jurisdiction extended.

With only a few days' rest the Bishop began to move among the Catholic settlers, making their acquaintance, visiting the stations, noting the facilities and their needs, and holding various services at different churches. He pontificated on the feast of Corpus Christi, carrying the Blessed Sacrament in procession at the Dominican church. The following Sunday, he and Father David went to Father Nerinckx' church, St. Mary's, where they also had a procession, and here Father David sang the High Mass. The following Thursday they did the same at Holy Cross, Father Badin's church. So, they began to make their presence felt in the congregations and brought new fervor and life to them. At the same time they could note conditions at firsthand and form impressions. At St. Rose they were pleased to see five novices, and four others about to be received. David noted that the canonical office was performed regularly, that the Dominicans had a large and beautiful church although he did not admire its style. But both he and Flaget did admire the Provincial, Father Wilson, whom David described as "a talented person and very interior." Of St. Mary's he said, ". . . an extremely interesting congregation, partly because of its solitary and romantic situation on the banks of a little river, partly because of the establishment of a presbytery on a plantation, and partly because of the fervor of its good people, who number eighty families. . . . The chapel is small, of logs also, but well built and kept with the order and tidiness that is characteristic of the saintly Mr. Nerinckx."⁴

Meanwhile preparations for the first formal episcopal visitation of the diocese began. There were some twenty-five congregations

possible in different sections of the state; these were from sixty to a hundred miles from Bardstown, with only four priests to serve all of them, for the Dominicans could furnish only two missionaries because of their college, St. Thomas Aquin, which they had but lately opened. There was nothing too humble for the Bishop's hands. From him some thirty-two youngsters, of St. Michael's parish, prepared for the event by Father O'Flynn, received their first Communion. On the last Sunday in August another two hundred young and old had the same experience. After all those over fourteen years of age had received this sacrament, the Bishop expected to administer that of Confirmation. He was having a catechism on Confirmation printed so that they could be well prepared. Many of the two hundred first Communicants were instructed and prepared for the event by the Bishop himself.

One day Flaget was riding with David through the forests on a journey about thirty-five miles from St. Stephen's to bless a new chapel which some eleven Catholic families had just built. These few people had purchased 400 acres of land for the church. They hoped in that way to encourage the coming of a priest into their midst. More than half the trip was accomplished through a driving rain, and on arrival a roaring fire welcomed them. However, "none of the warming liqueurs which are regarded here as a necessary remedy to prevent a cold" were on hand, and they had to stay drenched until bedtime when they changed and dried out their clothes as well as they could. They remained here, deep in the woods, for two days preaching and hearing the confessions of all.

Another day and the Bishop was riding to the state capital, Frankfort, with Father Badin. He was saddened by the thought that there was not a single Catholic in this town, so he had to confine himself to "blessing the city in general and greeting the guardian angels who presided over it" as he rode through it. October 20, he was in Lexington, where he had an experience which caused him some concern, but which ended happily. Although we do not learn all the details that we might like to know of this episode, Flaget's own description of it is not only interesting but also is illustrative of his activities at the time.

In a long letter to the young Father Bruté, among many other things, he describes the affair and his reactions thusly:

The tribulations that I expected at Lexington were not lacking. A letter filled with invective, heresy, and abominations was delivered to me a quarter of an hour after my arrival in that city. Thanks be to God, I read it without emotion, and I was enough of a Christian to pray for the author of it. Mr. Badin, who was very much more implicated in this diatribe than I myself was, joined in with me. The prayers were not in vain, for the person who had so abused us met me two days later in the street. He made advances to speak to me; I immediately extended my hand; we had quite a long conversation; everything was explained and settled amicably. I believe that we are good friends today. The congregation at Lexington is not very numerous or fervent, but the spirit is good. If I had a priest to make his residence there, all would go marvelously. Most of the Protestants are well-disposed in our favor, not that they are inclined to be Catholics, but they do not seem to have prejudices against Catholics, which is a great deal in this section. I have been at Danville since last Saturday. Although there are only three or four Catholic families, they have had enough zeal to build the first chapel of brick. I said Holy Mass there. Yesterday, the 27th of this month, all the people of the town were there and the Presbyterian church which is opposite the chapel, was entirely deserted. I do not know the impression that my exhortation made on their spirits; but from the coldness that I observed on most of their faces, I have good reason to believe that their hearts were no warmer. My visit has not been entirely fruitless. An old Frenchman who had publicly abjured his religion to become a Methodist came after Mass and threw himself in my arms, and half an hour later he prostrated himself at my feet to make his confession. He had not approached the sacraments for 35 years, although he had been visited by Mr. Badin for that. . . . The good man shed many tears. I have every reason to believe that his conversion is sincere. . . . If a waterproof riding coat, with a hat, and several pairs of shoes could be sent to me, I should be greatly obliged, for these things are extremely expensive at Bardstown and besides I am penniless.⁵

Writing to Archbishop Carroll in the late summer Flaget told him that he had been scrambling so constantly from one place to another that he had had no leisure to be sick and still less to write

to his friends. He stated that though he was well received everywhere and great respect was paid to his character yet he could not get used to his new dignity and the more he became acquainted with its full obligations the more uneasy he became, fearing lest he could not meet them. In a moment of weariness, he cried, ". . . being obliged to act as *curé* . . . often and often night and day after the sick who are numerous this year, hear Confessions almost every day four or five hours, keep Church every Sunday, receive the visits of many envious beings who have no other object in coming but to see the bishop."⁶

Two weeks before he had sent an urgent inquiry to the Archbishop in order to "have from yourself whether you have received from our Holy Father, the Pope, new and extraordinary powers for the good government of all the Dioceses in the United States." He begged for an increase in jurisdiction as his faculties as a bishop did not extend as far as they had when he had been a mere priest. As a parish priest at Post Vincennes he had dispensed from the impediment forbidding marriage between first cousins. As a bishop in Kentucky he did not have that faculty, and already three cases were at hand. Since application to the court at Rome was impossible at this time, he and the other priests felt that he could dispense according to his own judgment and prudence. Yet, he hesitated to take this step in the cases at hand because the motives for the marriages were not urgent. Only one presented a cause for scandal; the probability that the couple would go before a civil magistrate if he did not grant the dispensation. Even so he was reluctant to move, for the widower was twenty years older than his cousin, and had nine children, some of whom were almost as old as their intended stepmother.⁷ Another request made to Archbishop Carroll from Flaget must have made the venerable prelate smile wryly. Flaget reminded him he had once remarked that he intended to bequeath the Bishop of Kentucky four or five hundred dollars. He hoped Carroll could "effect it now" as he knew it would do more good to his diocese than at the death of the Metropolitan.

Despite his constant round of activity, he felt he had never before enjoyed such good health and in some exultation informed

Carroll that he could even say that he felt stronger than he commonly did at that season. Nevertheless, David was alarmed over the extent of his labor and often tried to remonstrate with him, but to little avail. Of this David said:

Monsignor does not spare himself. The great confidence which he inspires submerges him in work. I am often obliged to beg him to be moderate. He enjoys perfect health. Often he has to speak without preparation. His diction and his pronunciation are still quite defective, but his sweetness, the tenderness of his expressions, and his kindly manner season his exhortations so well that everyone enjoys them, and hearts let themselves be captivated. Everywhere he goes, many lost sheep come to throw themselves in his arms. The Protestants have an extreme curiosity to see him and even to speak to him. They are attracted to him just as others are, and I have no doubt whatever that in a short time he will make a great number of converts.⁸

David, too, despite his bulk, could exclaim that he was always on the run. On first coming to Kentucky he had feared that he could not stand the hardships of riding horseback because of the "weariness of his loins." Delighted to find that he was a better horseman than ever, that he could ride fifteen, twenty, and thirty miles with but little fatigue, that his health was improving even with his rigorous regime, Father David found too, that he could eat the rough fare of the backwoods with no evil results, and could get up from a hearty meal with no fear of indigestion, even though confessions might immediately follow the meal. In charge of three congregations — St. Joseph, St. Michael, and St. John — and often accompanying the Bishop on his trips, David was beginning to enjoy Kentucky. Although Father Emery had loaned David to Bishop Flaget for a period of three years in order to establish a seminary, the Superior-General had pledged to the Bishop his permanent retention as Rector in the event the project proved successful. Emery had verbally promised Flaget that any seminary under their direction was to be regarded as being united to the Sulpicians. So David hoped to help his friend, particularly in this regard, and expected that his parish work would be of short duration.

John Baptist Mary David had been born in Coüeron, a small town of Brittany on June 4, 1761. Very early in life he manifested the inclination toward a religious vocation. John entered the diocesan seminary of Nantes, and after completing his courses there and acting for a short time as tutor, applied for admission to the Society of St. Sulpice then under the direction of Father Emery. Ordained on September 24, 1785, and appointed to the chair of philosophy in the preparatory seminary at Angers, he was later made professor of Holy Scripture and Theology. When Benedict Joseph Flaget was appointed superior at Angers, he asked permission to take with him as assistant one of the priests for whom he had conceived a special affection, Father David. So began the intimacy of the two. Within a short time the Revolution brought an end to this companionship; David taking refuge with a friendly family in Angers, and Flaget returning to Auvergne. Their next meeting occurred when the two, without previous communication, met in Bordeaux on the way to America. In the United States they again separated.

David spent two and a half months at the seminary and then was assigned to the missions of Charles County, Maryland. From Thomas Manor near Port Tabacco he directed his activities. Poor roads and distant parishioners made a missionary's life one of hard labor. Yet, he managed to introduce here the institution of the Retreat, giving four different ones each year; one for the men, one for women, one for girls, and one for boys. Each year he tried to improve on them. After his death they were published under the title *A Spiritual Retreat of Eight Days*. David followed the Jesuits in these, reading all their works and often referring to them in his letters.

After twelve years here in Maryland, in 1804, Bishop Carroll recalled him to serve on the faculty of Georgetown College. Father Emery asked that he be withdrawn from there and sent to St. Mary's seminary in Baltimore. Here he not only taught but also acted as spiritual adviser, giving weekly conferences for the students. He was also appointed chaplain to Charles Carroll of Carrolltown. Bishop Carroll recommended him to Rome for the projected bishopric in Louisiana, but David refused this post. When the

United States diocese was divided into five sees, it was expected that David would receive one of them.⁹ He was at the seminary, when Flaget hurried down to Baltimore from Emmitsburg on receipt of the news of his own appointment by Rome. He was Flaget's confessor and spiritual adviser, and his offer to accompany Flaget to Kentucky was a great relief to his companion. In the meantime, while Flaget was trying to evade the Kentucky bishopric David was sent as superior and adviser to the newly formed Sisters of Charity at Emmitsburg, just then started by the famed Mother Seton. Emery had given Flaget permission to take David with him to Kentucky in the hope and expectation that David would further there the work of the Society of St. Sulpice.

Although Father David went on some trips with the Bishop and had charge of several congregations, his first love and main project was the seminary. He and Bishop Flaget discussed this often on their trip to Kentucky. They had with them the first seminarians — Chabrat, already a subdeacon, Derigaud, and Moretty. The first two had come over from France. The third went from Maryland with them "to try out his vocation." In the middle of July, 1811, these were joined by a fourth, a Mr. Buchetty who journeyed out from St. Louis to join them. He had delighted the good Bishop, as he "traveled like a real Trappist." To make more than two hundred leagues he had "only five piastres in his purse and a bag of books on his back." Both Flaget and David in their various letters, express worry over the ability of "poor Moretty, who is very good, with the best will in the world, has so much piety and I hope will acquire a sufficient knowledge to put him through, although he is not advancing very rapidly in his studies." Derigaud did very well, enjoying the study of philosophy and reading of the Latin authors. He was slow only in acquiring better English. Buchetty knew "Latin perfectly and logic was mere child's play for him." Although Moretty was an excellent carpenter and spent his spare time building altars, adding rooms to buildings, and in general made himself indispensable in the art of carpentry, he never reached the priesthood.

In the late summer, a "certain Mr. Shaffer [sic], who was at the Baltimore seminary, then at Pigeon Hill, from which he was

expelled for a scandalous fault; asked to come to the seminary." The Bishop thought he could be admitted, and Peter Schaeffer, who seemed to have been more advanced than Derigaud, was ordained some two years after Chabrat. Soon a fifth joined these, a lad of about thirteen years, Leo Twyman of Frankfort, who was studying Latin and the classics. There were at least a half dozen other young men who wished to study for the priesthood even at this early date, but there were no facilities to support and lodge them.

On Ember Saturday, September 21, Chabrat was ordained a deacon in Holy Cross Church.¹⁰ He had taken his examination the day before, and two days after this event preached his first sermon before some thirty persons, including the Bishop and priests. "He pulled through so well," chuckled the Bishop, that he had Chabrat repeat the same sermon before the congregation of Holy Cross the following Sunday. His success delighted everyone; they talked about nothing but "the young preacher." The young deacon preached several more times in the following months, taught the seminarians, studied theology with David, and finally on December 21, 1811, was raised to the priesthood, Bishop Flaget's first "son in Christ." A large concourse, of both Protestants and Catholics, were crowded together in St. Rose's church to witness this first ordination in the United States west of the Alleghenies. He celebrated his first Mass at Holy Cross on Christmas Day, and heard his first confessions on the following Monday. Father David then took him around to the congregations he had been attending and after some two weeks of this introduction to the work left him to his own devices, and Chabrat took over David's congregations. The older man commenting about his young charge said: "Good Chabrat rushes headlong into his works of zeal and only needs to be moderated. I should have desired for him a little more timorousness and diffidence; nevertheless, he is very fervent and fears neither vigils nor fasting, neither the cold nor the heat of the day."¹¹ Father David then returned to his new home, where that same month he had set up the embryonic seminary on the Howard plantation.

The Bishop had not been at St. Stephen's two weeks before he

was planning his "great establishments," especially the seminary, the Cathedral, and the sisterhood. By June 21 David was writing back to Bruté of these projects. Flaget was also writing Bruté in the same tenor. Said he:

My moments take wing with inconceivable swiftness, and with what are they filled? God knows! As for me, when I examine my conscience, I see only weakness and misery. Of three great projects on the carpet and of the even greater difficulties to hinder them my head is in a veritable whirl, or rather an unintelligible chaos. Pray, my dear friend, that light will shine on me and that I may be able to recognize the path that I must follow. The details of administration dry up my heart. I often speak of God. I try to inspire all who come to me with love of Him, but I speak coldly because I love only feebly. A cathedral, a seminary, a convent of women, these are the projects which are proposed to me, not to mention the churches entrusted to my care, the administration of the sacraments like an ordinary parish priest, the continuous journies that I am obliged to make to know my flock and to be known by them. What a difference between my little cell in Baltimore and my palace in Bardstown. Not a day passes that I do not regret my cell, but useless regret. The cross is my lot. Our good Archbishop has laid it on my breast and God sows thousands of crosses on my way. Patience, resignation, courage, intimate union with my good Jesus ascending Calvary — that is what I need and that is what you must incessantly ask for me.¹²

Thomas Howard had left the church over three hundred acres of land about three miles from Bardstown; half of it was already in the use of the church, the other half "with the dwellings, slaves, and all the farm implements" were to devolve on the Bishop at the death of the widow. They had hoped she would allow them to live there before that event, so their joy was intense when she came over to St. Stephen's one day in the middle of July to offer Flaget her part, "asking only that she have a little house with a modest livelihood, to end her days there." In August they started to build Mrs. Howard a small log house in order to take over hers for the seminary. David felt that Mrs. Howard was sacrificing herself; that she was going to be uncomfortable in a wretched hut that winter in order to bring them over sooner. By the first of November David had left Badin's and was living at the Howard

plantation.¹³ The Bishop remained with Badin until the following spring. The seminarians were also at Howard's, at least by December, and spent that month at work on the buildings.

In June "Monsignor already had dared to think of a subscription for a Cathedral."¹⁴ One day, toward mid-July, the Bishop said Mass at St. Joseph, near Bardstown, for the repose of the soul "of a good lady." After Mass the principal men of the congregation met with Father David and Bishop Flaget to talk over the plans for building a Cathedral and for raising the funds necessary to that object. Said David of it:

You are smiling, perhaps, at the name of a cathedral of Kentucky. Ah, well, my dear brother, I shall tell you that it is a matter of nothing less than a full-sized church, at least 120 feet in length, by 60 or 70 in width, with pillars, etc. in Gothic style; and what will surprise you still more is the fact that the Protestants want it as much as the Catholics and that they have said openly that if it were a question of a small church, they would not contribute willingly, but that if we wanted to build "a good, large substantial church" they would contribute generously. . . . People will tell you that money is too scarce in Kentucky. But here the subscriptions are made either in cash (that is, — in ready money) or in trade (that is, in work, provisions, materials, etc.) One individual has already offered the limestone, another the lumber; others will pledge so many days work as carpenter, joiner, mason, etc. No one here doubts success. . . .¹⁵

In August Flaget told the Archbishop that the people of Bardstown at last seemed eager to settle the see in their town, and that the subscription for a cathedral had started very well. However, he expressed worry over the fickleness of the people and their extreme reluctance to part with their money. He would have preferred a seminary to a cathedral, as he felt the former would be much more beneficial to the diocese, but "all my arguments are of no weight when compared with the ornament which Bardstown is to derive from so magnificent a building."¹⁶ There was even hope that before winter a start would be made on the building, as workmen were already hired to excavate the stones for the foundation. However, in December the materials were still being collected, and because of the press of other demands,

six years were to elapse before the building began in earnest. Then, it suddenly seemed to leap into existence. But this would not have been possible without the preliminary work and planning of the years before.

Like the seminary, the priests regarded an order of nuns as far more important than a cathedral. Some time before the coming of the Bishop, Nerinckx and Badin had attempted to form a sisterhood; the unfortunate destruction by fire of the building designed for the nuns had ended the project for the time, as Badin had run out of funds. As soon as Flaget and David arrived they revived this affair. Before coming to Kentucky David had felt that the Ursulines would be best suited to the work, but once in the field he decided the Sisters of Charity were the most desirable. The Catholics of the surrounding country were enthusiastic about the plans, for the common schools were regarded as "schools of impudicity, where young boys and young girls learn to make love and form bad habits." In the plan the boys were to be separated from the girls. Later an Order might be established to teach the boys. Both David and Flaget wrote to Bruté, asking him to secure a copy of the rules of the Sisters of Charity, from which they expected to form their own rule, with such modifications as might be called for. By December, 1811, plans were maturing for the sisterhood. Flaget wrote to Father Tessier:

The saintly Mr. Nerinckx will be at the head of the girl's institution, when the house to receive them is built. A good Catholic is offering for this purpose his plantation and two or three negroes. This is a very good beginning, but it isn't even half. The house in my mind, is the main thing for once these women are united they will become self sufficient in their work, and will greatly help supporting my seminarians. Several have already appeared. I am very sure a much larger number still will present themselves once the house is established. I am basing my hopes on this establishment.¹⁷

The ceaseless activity of the Bishop, which was to mark his whole life, was never more evident than in these first months. He spent three weeks in Lexington the first part of December in

order to settle an affair which had been scandalizing Protestants as well as Catholics for several years, but exactly what was involved still remains shrouded in mystery. His return witnessed some excitement, for on the sixteenth of the month the community experienced a violent earthquake. The tremors began at two o'clock in the morning and the second shock was felt just before seven o'clock as Flaget was beginning his thanksgiving after Mass. He had returned to find the seminary transferred to the Howard plantation, which was from then on called St. Thomas, after the patron saint of the benefactor. For Mr. Howard, Flaget had several hundred Masses to say, and he begged his friends in the East to help him with this pious work. It was a real consolation and joy for him to come here to rest and visit, but the culmination of the year was the ordination of his first priest, Father Chabrat. He could look forward to 1812 with confidence and expectation.

Five

JUNE 18, 1812, the United States declared war on Great Britain engaged at the time in war with Napoleonic France. The people were vastly encouraged by a series of victories at sea and did not realize how illusionary these triumphs were. In August, Hull surrendered his entire army and Detroit; soon afterward Chicago and other posts fell to the enemy and the frontier was thrown back to the Wabash and Ohio Rivers. Seven and a quarter million Americans faced a half million Canadians, but behind the latter was the might of the British. On the other hand, the Americans suffered from inept leadership, poor organization of all their resources, stupid generalship, and lack of a regular army. Kentucky leadership had been prominent in the demand for war and Kentuckians were heady and boastful about its outcome. Flaget was to find this about as troublesome a year as he was to experience; he was in constant agitation over Badin's attitude about the church property and even his trip to Baltimore to lay the situation before the Archbishop brought no relief to his mind. It was to be another year of hard riding—in April he noted that he had traveled in four months almost eight hundred miles. The end of the year was to appear as bleak to him concerning his affairs as it did to many of the citizens of the country concerning the national welfare. Yet, in this year were founded two of the most important religious institutions of his diocese, and in April there entered the seminary one who was to be another ornament of his diocese, Robert Abell.

At the beginning of the year six seminarians, under David's direction, worked furiously at the building program on the Howard plantation in order to have a place there for the Bishop, so that

he could leave Badin's home, where he was beginning to feel uncomfortable. Schaeffer and Buchetty were in theology, and although David had hoped that Derigaud, who was already past thirty years of age, could be also advanced to theology, he finally decided to give his charge one more year of Latin and philosophy. Moretty, Twyman, and Coomes were all less advanced; Twyman only thirteen, and Coomes sixteen, had not even made their first Communion. They were all, at first, in the two story log house thirty feet by eighteen feet. The largest room downstairs was used as study hall, refectory, and on Sunday, as a church for the surrounding Catholics. A small room was fitted up as a chapel, and Mrs. Howard occupied the other room downstairs that winter. Her presence had necessitated more carpentry on the part of Moretty and Derigaud, who had had to block up an entry door, and so arrange a separation to accommodate her. In one room upstairs were the quarters of David, in another were six beds for the seminarians. Chabrat had a bed in a tiny hall room upstairs, for his visits between missions. The Bishop had no room at first; David put him in his own when he visited, or in Chabrat's when it was not occupied. One more bed could be crowded into the hall upstairs when needed. Besides building an altar, a tabernacle, four bedsteads, benches, tables, and prie-dieus, the seminarians were also cutting down trees and dressing them for the new building they were to put up that spring. It was to serve as study hall and refectory, and so release a place for the Bishop.

The community was already on a strict routine; rising in the morning at 5 o'clock for Mass, prayers, and then a study period, a class in theology at 7 o'clock, breakfast at 8 o'clock; at 8:30 were classes in Latin and philosophy; 9:30 manual work until 12:45 when they had prayers followed by lunch. In the spring there began classes in English and spelling at 11:15 and David always fell asleep in the middle of the lesson in spelling. Singing class took a half hour. After lunch they were back at work until 4:45 when they assembled for the Rosary. They then studied until 6 o'clock when another class in Latin met for an hour. At 7 occurred the "examen," general reading and then supper. After supper there was a short period of recreation, night prayers,

reading, and then retiring. With the exception of the work period, for which now generally is substituted recreational periods, this pattern in seminaries is still followed to a considerable extent.

The table of the modern seminary may consist of a little better fare. The Bishop describes it then as extremely frugal, for "we ordinarily eat corn bread, in the morning we have a glass of milk, sometimes a cup of tea or milk, for we are absolutely out of the habit of drinking coffee. At dinner two dishes, one of meat, the other of vegetables, water is our constant beverage, even for Mr. David in the evening, milk and butter, and there is no tea." However, with the spring and the maturing of the garden, meals became more varied. Although the garden was new and small "we have had peas for more than a month and still have them in abundance. Again and again we have had green beans, radishes, lettuce; soon will come beets, carrots, leeks, onions, melons, cantaloupes — without forgetting cabbages, which is the ordinary dish with hot ham."¹ Saturdays, Sundays, and festivals this pattern was changed. A neighbor had "a fishing trap" in the river, and as a result Fridays and Saturdays often saw fresh fish or turtle on the table. The people of the congregation now and then brought them flour, or ham, or some household article.

In their work they did the usual things required on a plantation of that type, and at the same time were also concerned with various carpentry projects. All this depended upon the seasons. In January they tapped three hundred sugar trees, with each tree giving on an average of a pound or more. This sugar had not quite as much strength as that extracted from sugar cane, but the difference was not appreciable. Moretty took over the housing problem and the care of turkeys. Derigaud spent his spare time in cultivating flowers, trying to line the walks and paths with them, and he too took charge of the planting of crops. In the summer these flowers made much more beautiful their rustic surroundings. The seminarians began to harvest right after July 4. To them the corn, besides being a necessary staple, was also a matter of beauty, a fairly good field of oats gave assurance that the horses would not die of hunger, but the wheat had "suffered from the rapacious flies." They went to confession regularly to David and talked over

their problems with him. Almost every week they also went to Communion. Flaget had been worried over Buchetty "because of his originality," and he left as he had come; he departed from their midst in the same dramatic manner and in the same financial condition. He stole away on Palm Sunday evening after dark when it was very cold. Everyone was pleased that he had left as his extremes of personality had bothered them all. He had agreed with David to leave in the morning, but fear of the others' jeers caused his secret exit. "Little Twyman" was soon to follow him out of the seminary. The retreat of a week's duration took place just before Easter. The ceremonies of Easter week were made more solemn and dignified by the participation of the Bishop, but the room was so crowded by the congregation that not too much was attempted. And so life went on at this first seminary west of the Alleghenies, second only to that of the Sulpicians in Baltimore.

Although David was generally more concerned about its welfare and spent most of his time in its interest, he also had a certain amount of parish work and its details. He said Mass once a month at one of the Bardstown homes and there baptized and administered the other sacraments whenever necessary for that neighborhood. He felt that was small recompense for the horse one of the parishioners here had given him. The seminary was not without services then, for generally both Flaget and Chabrat were back from their peregrinations at that time. David was also trying to put into execution the plan for founding a sisterhood. However, before he had accomplished it, over on Hardin's Creek, a few miles away, events were moving toward the formation of another group which was to antedate David's, although by only a matter of months. In the same year, 1812, American Catholic society and history were enriched by the founding of the first distinctly American sisterhoods, with no connection or roots in foreign soil.

James Dant had lately returned from Maryland, bringing back with him a young cousin, Mary Rhodes, who had the distinction of a convent education. Her married brother, Bennet, his family, and another unmarried sister, Nancy, were also living on Hardin's Creek. After some months' visit at the Dants, Mary went over

to live with her brother. She soon was very naturally engaged in teaching his youngsters, and as this aroused the admiration and envy of his less fortunate neighbors, the next step was almost inevitable. She began to worry over their lack of opportunity for education and before long she and Father Nerinckx were discussing the situation. They decided it would be desirable and possible to open a school, and so took over an abandoned cabin which stood on a hill halfway between Rhodes' house and St. Charles Church. The new school had only a dirt floor, the roof did not keep out the rain, and the log sides were not closely fitted together; but despite the condition of the building, the teacher soon had all she could do to handle the children that flocked to her call, and Father Nerinckx saw that she needed aid. He found another girl in the neighborhood, well known for her piety and zeal who was also eager to teach. Christine Stuart moved in with Bennet Rhodes and between the two girls there soon grew a deep bond of friendship, intensified by their mutual interests and tastes. Living with the Rhodes exacted a certain amount of social life, and the gaiety and worldliness of this association became distasteful to the young women, whose piety demanded a withdrawal from distraction. To the amazement and horror of the neighbors they decided to leave the comfortable protection of the Rhodes home and move into the cabin that was close by the school, and even more dilapidated than the latter. They fitted it up as well as possible, and began to follow a religious routine. A short time after this move, a third girl, Anne Havern, who was very pious, asked to join them.

The three then asked Father Nerinckx about the possibility of accepting some religious rule of life and forming some sort of community. Nerinckx saw in them the dream he had always held on to, the foundation of a religious community of women. The four-year-old tragedy of the half dozen young women who had the same vision, only to see it consumed in ashes before their eyes, had long been a nightmare to him. But the joy that these girls brought to his heart was tempered by prudence, and he tried to show them that the road ahead would not be easy. When they insisted upon some direction and persisted in their demands he

wrote down a few simple points and left them to lay the project before the Bishop, who gave his approval. These events caused some excitement in the community, and when Father Nerinckx announced that the young ladies would be formally admitted to the religious state and receive the veil in a special ceremony, the little log church of St. Charles was crowded for the occasion. On Saturday morning, April 25, 1812, the three walked over to the church and before Mass the reception of the veil took place. Among those who witnessed the event were Ann Rhodes, sister of Mary, and Sally Havern, sister of Anne. These two asked to join the others, so on that day they were admitted as postulants. The community grew rapidly in every respect. The Sisters managed to improve the conditions of the cabins, while the students of the neighborhood were joined by those who lived at some distance, and asked admission as boarders. To accommodate them beds were hoisted up to the attic during the day and pulled down in the evening to make the kitchen and other rooms a dormitory by night. Soon various neighbors began to show up, sometimes of their own volition and sometimes in answer to a special plea by Father Nerinckx to help the Sisters in some project, such as building or repairing. They planted a garden and some crops, and began to raise pigs and poultry.

Meanwhile, Nerinckx was worried about the spiritual progress of the little group. He felt that their utter lack of experience in this respect should be rectified in some way. He told them of his worries, and asked if it would not be best to associate themselves with an old order, and so try to secure some nuns from Europe to train and direct them in their spiritual life. They preferred, however, to retain their complete independence of foreign ties, and informed him they would be completely happy under his spiritual direction. Nerinckx then turned for guidance to the Bishop and Flaget, respecting the wishes of the Sisters, directed Father Nerinckx to take over the task of guiding them. At once he set about to draw up a more extensive rule for the order to which he gave the name of The Friends of Mary at the Foot of the Cross. The convent church, when built was

named Loretto, so in time the title was simplified to the Society of Loretto.

In order better to handle the affair, Nerinckx left Badin's and took up his residence in a room connected to St. Charles Church. The rule he gave to the society was characteristic of his own zeal and character. The education of girls was to be their general objective, with the personal object of their own greater sanctification. In some respects it was harsh rule, unsuited for their young bodies, but the eager Sisters took no account of that quality. They were willing to accept any physical hardship he placed in their path. Such features were later softened when the rule was approved by Rome.

On June 29 Nancy Rhodes and Sally Havern were given the veil by Father Nerinckx in the same ceremony followed with the first three. Nellie Morgan, who had been teaching a few children in her widowed mother's home and had been forced to wait until this obligation was completed by the close of the term, joined the community on this day as a postulant. Father Nerinckx felt the time had arrived for the regular election of a superior in which capacity Mary Rhodes had been serving temporarily. The Sisters sat around on the bare floor of their cabin and in a brief meeting elected the youngest among them, Sister Ann Rhodes, as their first superior. The day was made even more memorable by the act of cutting down one of the great forest trees at the edge of the clearing for the beginning of their new buildings. Father Nerinckx appealed to the congregation to give them all possible assistance. Soon the work was in full swing, and the beginning of a new group of buildings, arranged in a square, attested to the good will of the neighbors. The corner cabin, intended as the residence of the priest, was built almost completely by himself. He was later to boast that it had cost only six dollars and fifty cents. Meanwhile, Mother Ann's first important act had been to buy the land upon which the cabins stood. To raise the \$75 required for the purchase she had sold her own personal effects and her Negro slave to Father Nerinckx for some \$250.² The building program was not finished at once, but

continued over a long period, developing as neighbors found time to give to the project. On August 12 Ellen Morgan received the veil taking the name of Sister Clare, the first Sister to change her given name.

In June there occurs the first mention of this new sisterhood in the Bishop's diary: on the twelfth he states, "after dinner I visited the girls of the school." On the last day of July he mentions that he visited "the ladies of St. Charles." It is not until the middle of August that he calls them "the Sisters" and he then notes that there is "great satisfaction among these poor ladies." Again on the last couple days of that month he notes a "visit to the Sisters."³

Toward the close of summer the Sisters began to notice with growing apprehension the ravages of consumption on the frail frame of Mother Ann. She maintained her usual cheerfulness and zest, continuing with her duties until it was no longer possible to do so. And even from her bed of straw upon the bare floor she continued to direct their activities. As winter began their sorrow became more acute, for each day brought death nearer to hand. Father Nerinckx gave her the last sacraments, and on a Friday, December 11, in the early dawn, the soul of the first mother superior of Loretto left the poor cabin convent. Father Nerinckx performed the funeral rites, and the body of Mother Ann with her coarse veil drawn up over the face was consigned to the bare earth, with no covering coffin. This was another rule of Father Nerinckx that Rome saw fit to change when attention was drawn to the custom. As successor the Sisters elected their founder, Mary Rhodes.

While the Society of Loretto was burying its first superior, a second sisterhood was being born. From their very arrival in the diocese both Flaget and David talked and planned about the establishment of a community of nuns. They referred to it so often in their letters back to Bruté that the latter once confused a request for a copy of the Rule of St. Vincent with a request actually for Sisters, which had not really been made. In the first days of the year Flaget twice had long conversations with James Dant on this object. It seems strange that in Dant's

home there lived for some months the girl who was to be responsible for the beginning of the community sponsored by Nerinckx instead of that of St. Thomas.

On his visits to his various missions David several times spoke to the people of the hope of the Bishop and himself for such a group. In November he was approached by Teresa Carrico who offered herself for the project, but David felt that complete lack of funds was an insurmountable obstacle. In December a second woman, Elizabeth Wells, came to him with the same object and these "two pious ladies of mature age" argued with such force that David gave in. So it was that the present great order of Sisters of Charity of Nazareth had its humble beginning in a tiny cabin. The Bishop was out of the state at the time, and although the order was to acknowledge him as superior, David was really its founder and guide. David gave them only a simple routine for their daily observance, and their first task was to spin wool and then make clothes of this for the seminarians. Later their activities were expanded to include teaching girls, visiting the sick, and other such charitable works.

Like the nuns at Loretto, they were too poor at first even to have a religious habit, but wore their own dresses until they could make their religious garb. In January of 1813 the two were joined by a young girl who was destined to guide their formative years and to be the real inspiration and leader of the order. Catherine Spalding was to be everything that could be expected from one of that great Kentucky family. On the day she arrived David gave them a provisional rule and appointed the oldest to act as Superior until such time as additional members should justify an election. By Easter this was possible as three new members came to them, Mary Beaven, Harriet Gardiner, and Mary Gwynn.⁴ After a retreat of a week the election took place, and the nineteen-year-old Catherine Spalding was chosen first Mother Superior. David described the occasion to his friend, Bruté, in these words:

We have also started the work of our community of women, upon the foundation of the excellent and inimitable Mr. Nerinckx, whom I cant follow unless from afar. I have

assembled 6 women in a house of beams, which is upon our plantation, a half mile from the seminary. It was the dwelling place of a *tenant*, a house of 18 ft. square on two floors, that is to say, a room below and one above — that's all — adjoining it there is a little log house which serves as kitchen and the loomroom. As soon as there were 6 they assembled in the little chapel of the seminary, after having listened to the Mass of Mgr. at which they were communicants, after a quarter hour of act of grace, they passed one by one into the neighboring room, and gave their votes to Mgr. and to me in the presence of Mr. Chabrat for a Mother, an assistant, and a procuratrix, after which they kissed the hand of their Mother (who by the way, is the youngest of all except one). They received from the mouth of Mgr. the advice which the Holy Spirit evidently dictated, and soon they retired. They have since started their school. They have only two boarders and one or two day students. These are the smallest beginnings, but like I have always desired. . . . I thank you very much for the trouble which you have taken to copy the constitution. You would also give me much pleasure if you would also copy the rules, they are very necessary to us. I have been obliged to give them a rule such as it was while waiting. I beg you to hurry the copying of these rules. . . .⁵

Within a few months David was to note the existence of a minor flaw in the foundation, a revelation of the fact of humanness even among the saints. He reported to Bruté that although the nunnery was advancing, one alone gave him trouble, that she was a convert, but "of a cross-grained temper, eccentric, etc." He believed that he might even have to send her away. It was not long before Elizabeth Wells became more and more morose and finally decided to withdraw from the community; later she entered the Dominican sisterhood. The students had already increased to four boarders, and seven or eight day scholars. The twenty-year-old Mother and the seventeen-year-old assistant were doing well. The seminarians were at work in September, "with the Sisters occasionally *the overseer*" erecting the logs that were to make an addition to the house in which the Sisters lived.

So, these two establishments rapidly advanced. Bishop Flaget may have missed the significance of the first foundation by Nerinckx; he was either lost in his worries over Badin and a

certain mysterious Mr. XX or he perhaps felt that it was not a proper item for the diary as it was not his own deed but rather that of Nerinckx. At any rate he completely neglected to record the incident in his diary, despite the fact he spent the entire next day until 4:30 o'clock in the afternoon at St. Charles, saying Mass, hearing confessions, and preaching.

This diary, although very concise and often rather puzzling, is a most interesting document. Flaget kept it for many years; at one period he almost gave it up as he felt it might be a matter of vanity, and so of sin, but David persuaded him otherwise. Unfortunately, the greater part of it has perished, along with the over three thousand letters written to the Bardstown men. The existing material of the year 1812 has been translated and edited in the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* of 1918. Whatever remains of the rest may only be seen in Bishop Spalding's account of Flaget, published immediately after the latter's death. This account of Spalding often follows Flaget's diary for page after page, so may be regarded as practically source material itself. Father Howlett describes the original diary as "leather-bound, 3½ x 6 and the cover is well-worn, as if carried much in the pocket. It contains fifty-two leaves of strong paper, unruled, and to each day about one inch of space is allowed." As in practically all of Flaget's and David's letters, the language used was French. He kept it regularly in 1812 until his arrival in Baltimore, which took it to November 16. Then he followed it with a narrative account of that journey, of his adventures in Baltimore, and some remarks on Father Badin. The most puzzling feature of it was the use of a private code, composed of capital letters. They may have stood for the initial letters of words and represented prayers.

The very first entry, recorded at St. Michael's Church, Fairfield, revealed the major problem that was to trouble the Bishop all this year. It read: "Wednesday, January 1, 1812—I published today at the high mass my opinion on the subject of Mr. B-n and the lands. Weather cold and cloudy. S.R.P.M." The question of the church lands of Kentucky was the source of this disturbance. Well before the appointment of the Bishop, this problem had

arisen. There are many letters from Kentucky on this subject in the correspondence of Bishop Carroll; there are letters written by Judge Twyman and by others not as well known on the vexed problem of the church land titles. Several of these indicate the wish of the writers to vest the property in the person of Carroll instead of in Badin.⁶ However, most of the titles were made out to the Vicar-General, Father Badin. The Bishop naturally wished these turned over to himself as the highest authority in the diocese. For various reasons Badin did not wish to accede to this legitimate request of the Bishop, or else wished to encumber the transfer with conditions. So a bitter dispute developed, and not even the well-reasoned advice and compromises of Judge Twyman, friend to both men, were acceptable to either. Twyman himself, as early as 1808, had written to Badin carping on the church lands, the titles, and their vexatious problems.⁷

The trustee situation, which so plagued the Church in the early days and broke out into schism in Philadelphia, Charleston, and other points, reached even into Kentucky. One of the most difficult congregations in Kentucky (Badin would say because it was the richest and proudest) was that of Scott County. Something was always boiling here, and the matter of land titles was only one such incident. In reply to frantic appeals Bishop Carroll declared that the title there should be vested in Father Badin, Father Angier, and one layman chosen by the two priests. This was only one example of the ramifications of this affair. Badin held title, under one condition or another, over many acres of church property. Often he had used his own money to buy a plot of ground, to start a subscription toward building a church, or to pay off a mortgage. In the process he had managed to involve himself deeply in debt. Some properties had been a gift to him as Vicar-General of Kentucky, and had been donated under special stipulations for which Badin felt personally responsible. Sometimes those could be embarrassing as well as amusing: for instance, one parishioner offered to leave several hundred acres to the Church in return for the dissolution of the obligation to contribute to it for himself and his children's children to the fourth generation. But Father Salmon had pointed out to Bishop Carroll that as this

parishioner had a very numerous progeny, it might eventually free over a hundred families from making contributions to the Church. Of course, that was an extreme case.

Badin felt that before transferring the property to the Bishop he must make sure that each condition be stipulated. On his part Flaget felt that no special terms ought to be made, that as head of the diocese he could be trusted to use his own judgment in caring for any special case needing individual attention. Both these Frenchmen were sensitive, and each felt the other was not being just. Legal opinion upheld Badin's course, but all through the year Flaget's journal reveals how the affair bothered his mind and rankled in his heart. The entry "unfortunate conversation with Mr. B-n" would be followed in the next month's entry with "extremely painful conversation with Mr. B-n. It requires all charity to believe him in good faith in his proceedings. . . ." Then in April there was some change, but it did not last. "Partial reconciliation with Mr. B-n. Burn his letters." There was no settlement through talking with each other, and taking advice with Father Fenwick and Father David produced nothing constructive. So Flaget went about his work, but always in distress, with this in the background. Living with Badin was not very comfortable under the circumstances. David was guilty of some understatement when he said: ". . . the bishop, . . . is beginning to get very tired at Mr. Badin's where he cannot feel at home."⁸

Yet though Flaget lived with Badin until summer the two were on the move so much that they saw each other very little. Badin was building two brick churches, the first Catholic church of Louisville and the first of Lexington. They spent the year writing letters to each other on the property question, but nevertheless remained on speaking terms. But thirty-six times in his diary for this one year does Flaget record his concern over the matter. Several times he was at the point of excommunicating Badin, but hesitated to do so as he feared the priest's numerous friends might create a schism. In late August Judge Twyman was able to bring about some adjustment between the two. In his diary Flaget makes the following observation:

May 2, 1812. — In the painful conversation I had with Mr.

Badin he expressed to me his intention of leasing the greater part of the land near Bardstown. This justifies my fears that he does not intend to make an episcopal establishment of it. He complained that I had treated him harshly. I acknowledge that on two or three occasions his conduct towards me was so singular that I expressed myself in a manner strong and perhaps harsh. But he himself knows well that it was but the expression of the moment, and that my heart has always been open to him, and very wide open every time that it seemed to me he wished to come to me. . . . Mr. Badin proposed to me to put into my hands all the property purely ecclesiastical, provided I would give him my letter of exchange to Mr. Small, without exacting security for the remaining debts, — evident proof that these debts did not worry him very much, and that it was a precaution, useless to him and insulting to me to exact, as a condition "*sine qua non*," that I should be security for all debts occasioned, etc., although at this time I had agreed to give eighty dollars more than he actually asked, for I offered to pay \$200 to Messrs. Porter [?] and Small.

I said that his "conduct" towards me was "unjust," and I do not retract it, because his conduct may be unjust without his being so himself. I acknowledge, however, that it is not without an effort that I separate the one from the other. God knows well that I value the friendship of Mr. Badin a hundred times more than all the lands.

The 5th of May I wrote to Mr. Badin under the pretext of explaining certain expressions which he used last Saturday, but really to induce him by new motives to cede me the land at Bardstown. To give him a proof of my constant friendship I sent him a letter of exchange to Mr. Small. I told him that I had some more at his service, and, although he had two commissions to send that very day, he did not deign to acknowledge the receipt of my letter. When I paid \$120 for him at Baltimore he never thanked me, and he never will acknowledge such proceedings. . . .

The 2nd of May Mr. Badin went so far as to say that, if he wanted to, he could keep 'all the church property' although I had asked for it. He said that he had his principles formed upon this subject, and that his conscience would not reproach him in the least. I answered that my principles were quite the contrary, and that my conscience would be entirely at ease in putting them into execution. When Mr. Badin advanced these principles he had not yet read my letter of the 18th of April, although it had been given to him. He would have seen in

reading it that I had anticipated all his objections. I do not yet know what effect this letter has produced on his mind. As he has accepted my letter of exchange I must conclude that he wishes to turn over to me at least the Church property. God of mercies, do not permit that I should be the cause of any scandal; make me know the voice that I should follow. Death, yes, a thousand times, rather than that I should offend Thee!

The disagreement between the Bishop and Badin seems not to have been the sole, nor perhaps the real, reason for Badin's departure from the diocese in 1819 for Europe. Perhaps he might not have gone had there been no other reason. But he knew of Flaget's efforts to obtain a coadjutor, and not knowing that the selection had been made by the Holy See he seems to have felt that he might obtain some influential French support for his own name. He thought that no one else knew the Kentuckians as he did, and that he could do the most for them. In much later times it was said that he used to smile while observing that he went to Europe to try to become a bishop, but the good Lord knew best. He did not return until 1828. Then he wandered around almost at will, in the diocese of Bardstown, in Cincinnati, in Michigan, and Vincennes. He helped bring about the establishment of Notre Dame and was buried there at the university. While in Paris he collected money for Flaget, for Father Champonier, and other priests and dioceses. He regularly corresponded with Flaget, Richard, Bruté, and many others. He wrote long articles for various publications to encourage interest in the American missions. Soon after his arrival in France he wrote a letter to his friend Chabrat, on the dispute. In justice to his position Badin ought to be allowed a final word on the matter. This letter in part, reads:

I cannot dissemble that the harsh treatment, which, contrary to my expectations, I have met with from persons whom I loved and respected more than any friends on earth, has cooled my desire of returning to America, and given room to that of remaining with my countrymen, who are not a little anxious that I should do so. I have bestowed upon Kentucky the best of my life, and I cannot now be as useful, because I daily feel

that my memory and other faculties are failing. My unremitted labors, for so many years, and many tribulations, without the relief I might have rightly expected from my clerical brethren, have surely contributed to impair my natural energies. But there is no doubt that my visit to France has been conducive to a necessary rest and comfort, as also to my sanctification, still more desirable. *Unum est necessarium, quid enim prodest homini, etc.*

At a proper distance of time, place, and persons, in the sight of God, who will judge all our actions, and our most secret thoughts, I have examined myself over and over again; I have advised with the most prudent and holy clergymen, to whom I have candidly submitted both my conduct respecting the church property, and the necessary documents relating to the same. Their undoubted opinion is that I was under no obligation to dispossess myself; but that to have done so would have been more perfect, provided I first secured my debts. In justice to myself I will say that I was a willing 'a principio' to do this if it could be done properly. I have proved this, since I have freely dispossessed myself, not only of the funds, but of my own improvements, rents, etc. My very first letters to our venerable bishop should have at once put at rest all controversy. One month before his death, Mr. Thomas Howard had made me his sole heir, and it was only at my own request that two others were associated with me in such a manner that, if I were the survivor, I necessarily became the sole and rightful possessor. At his death, I gave my bond and obligation for a pretty large sum of money to secure that property to the Church; and I assumed other obligations besides the interests, etc. I did also divest my heart before Almighty God, who has been the witness of my offering, and who is not fallible like men. But behold, in less than one year thereafter, I was threatened by my friend — *Si inimicus meus maledixisset mihi sustinuissem utique* — with excommunication of the Council of Trent, as being an usurper! — Whereas it has been questioned by the late Bishop Carroll and many others, both in France and America, whether I could, consistently with the will, and validly dispossess myself.

This miserable affair, in which I was on the defensive, has been the cause of many, many sins. The bishop has acknowledged that avarice has at no time controlled my action in this matter. I could not have acted otherwise than I did, and be true to reason and my sense of justice and religion. Motives which were not mine have been persistently attributed to me.

My pride afterwards opposed the crimination to which I had been subjected, whereas I was, and still am, conscious of having been judged wrongfully. Far from deserving their excommunication, I felt that I was entitled to the gratitude of the clergy. . . . With the grace of God, I would rather give to, than take from the church; and however ill-treated I have been, I have always had the will to do more for that of Kentucky, of which I have been the founder, the father, and the sole pastor for a number of years, amidst labors, afflictions, and the temptations which must necessarily assail a lonely young stranger and inexperienced priest, in a new and wild country, where everything was to be built up, almost without means. But if any good has been done, the praise is due to God, and the confusion belongs to me. I have no hopes but in the merits of my Redeemer, in whose charity I wish to live and die, whose mercy I implore, and in whose bountiful heart we must be all united for ever. I recommend my whole being and future resolutions to your good prayers and sacrifices. *Osculor te osculo sancto, sincere tuus in Domino, frater.*

T. S. Badin¹⁰

So, Flaget continued on his anxious way hoping Badin would change his mind. He also had another worry, as he records seventeen times incidents of a crisis with a certain Mr. XX. This, too, seems to have been very trying. Father Wilson first brought the matter to his attention, and Flaget notes several stormy interviews with this troublesome creature.

While engaged in the government of the diocese, the Bishop was also administering sacraments. He heard confessions on a hundred and sixty-one days of the year, often for hours at a time or during several different parts of the day. He preached or gave instructions this year on sixty-three different occasions, and confirmed on at least fourteen different Sundays. On June 28 he confirmed some two hundred persons at St. Charles. This was followed by a procession of the Blessed Sacrament in which six hundred marched two abreast, preceded by three men on horseback, bearing standards. The ceremony lasted until almost six o'clock. In August he confirmed ninety-nine at St. Thomas. Only those who had made their First Communion were confirmed. David thought that Flaget had up to that point confirmed almost

a thousand. Sometimes Badin, Nerinckx, Chabrat, or O'Flynn would have the ceremony of First Communions on the same day, and generally if the Bishop was to be at any ceremony a long solemn procession would also be in the order of the day. This would often mean that the Bishop would be engaged in church business until four o'clock in the afternoon.

Ten leagues or so from St. Stephen's the people of that locality delighted the Bishop by buying four hundred acres of land for the Church. The Bishop wrote his friend back in Maryland that they built "a pretty little chapel and sent me the titles for all these properties. . . . Its location is like that of a real Carthusian monastery, and the twelve Catholic families that live there are by their piety worthy of being called Carthusians . . . all big and small go to receive the Sacraments, one man only of this pious band keeps apart and plays the philosopher. There were scarcely a hundred people for the procession; instead of lighted tapers they all carried branches of trees. . . . It was a working day on which this procession took place, and although it was harvest time, no one was absent. . . ." ¹¹ The Bishop's days were never idle, and not often did he find rest. One day he would go "27 miles . . . to Clear Creek" with Mr. Nerinckx; the next he would spend in hearing confessions until nightfall. Once in a while there would be no celebration of the Mass for lack of a chalice. Another day he was traveling twelve miles to administer Extreme Unction, and the next he was on his horse for a distant ride to officiate at some special occasion.

The first diocesan synod was called for February 20, 1812. A week before this, on February 12, the Bishop made a one-day retreat. Before the event he consulted with Father David and Father Nerinckx on questions that might be properly considered at the meeting, and spent the afternoon preceding it "preparing his palace." That Thursday dawned beautifully bright; the weather favored the day, and as the eight priests rode up to his cabin and swung off their horses they were generally in a cheerful mood. They represented the clerical strength of the diocese, and with perhaps only a single exception, all were remarkable men. Badin, Nerinckx, David, Chabrat, O'Flynn, and the three Domini-

cans — Fenwick, Wilson, and Tuite listened intently as the Bishop outlined the program for their conference. They had some sense of the historic moment as each prayed during the Mass of the Holy Ghost, and as each recited the *Veni Creator* before the conference. Nerinckx described the western district and its problems; one wonders if he ever relived that night he was caught out in the middle of Union County in the dead of night by the wolf pack, if he ever thought of that spectacle of hundreds of wolves circling around him all that night as he sat on his horse and yelled to scare them off. It was decided that he would take as a mission the entire region from Washington County to Union County, with headquarters at Holy Mary's. To the others were given also comparable mission districts, although each remained where he was already living. While some other questions were discussed the distribution of missions was the only positive accomplishment of the conference. Nerinckx had broached a subject that caused the Bishop much pain and worry, a desire to move on to the West in order to devote himself to those who had no knowledge of the Faith. After some time the Bishop dissuaded him from an immediate departure, and then the foundation of the Sisters of Loretto drove the project from Nerinckx's mind. The week after the synod the Bishop made another retreat; this time he spent four days in meditation and prayer, although the last day of it was disturbed by another unsatisfactory conversation with Badin on the matter of the church property. His next synod occurred on the Thursday after Pentecost, May 21. Badin, David, Chabrat, Wilson, Fenwick, and O'Flynn were present. Flaget did not feel it was as important as the first, nor was much accomplished.

At times he was overcome by emotional chagrin in the feeling that he was doing too little. It was true that a certain amount of building was going on practically all the time. Ten or more neighbors would drop around one day to try to get the roof on the new houses, the snow would interrupt, and then time was marked. These things were of little moment. He had hoped to begin his cathedral but this kept meeting difficulties which caused him to lament that "the roses here are surrounded by

thorns, as they are everywhere else; often I tread that path. . . . O, if I had some sparks of love of God I should take up my Cross, I should have no other diversion, no other walks except on Calvary. Pray the Lord to inspire me with that holy love of the Cross so that there I may live and there I may die." The Bishop felt that while Badin and Nerinckx were building churches and David was hoping to build a seminary, only he would fail in his plans to build a cathedral. Flaget thought that this failure would be caused by lack of any plan. An architect, Godefroy, had promised him one but had not followed this by anything but words. Without plans, he could not come to terms with the workmen. He, David, and Badin were trying to overcome the difficulty by drawing up the plans themselves, but found the task almost impossible. Already by the end of the first month of 1812 enough funds had been collected to begin the project, and Flaget felt that if he could get the architect to send him a "side view of the church, well colored" he could multiply considerably his subscribers. He did not need details of the interior.¹² However, they were determined "not to contract any debts whatever." David emphasized that "our dear Bishop had such great fear of them [debts] that next to sin I believe nothing frightens him so much as the idea of debt." In time David began to feel that Badin was partly the cause of the lack of progress of the cathedral—for as he pointed out:

The affair of the cathedral is moving slowly and proving more difficult than Mgr. had imagined. The difficulties come from the negligence of Mr. Badin, whom Mgr. had counted on too much. He has had two churches built, one in Louisville and the other in Lexington, and that occupies him entirely and has prevented him from taking the necessary steps to advance the building of the mother church. He is beginning to give a great deal of trouble to Mgr., whose extreme sensitiveness suffers cruelly from certain proceedings which the spirit of God certainly does not. . . . [?] (All this "inter fratres.") As for the people of Kentucky, they appear to be very well disposed, and a reinforcement of good missionaries would render the harvest here very abundant. The Protestants [?] on all sides seem disposed to be converted.¹³

Both David and Flaget were worried over the debts the Sulpicians were incurring in Baltimore. David felt that the members there were departing too far from the rules of the society, and Flaget practically "hit the ceiling" over their finances. Little touches of humor were not wanting in the daily existence. David was not only Flaget's confessor and adviser, often he was the gadfly and critic. Although he may not have been as merciless with his Bishop's pronunciation and use of the English language as he was in his criticism of Bruté's grammar and construction, he did attempt to correct Flaget's more flagrant errors. "Our good bishop," reported David, "still resents the 'ains.' He says 'wainter,' 'painch of snuff,' etc."

When Flaget heard rumors that Maréchal was returning with more priests from France he made a plea that his own needs be not forgotten. He hoped to acquire Gabriel Richard as a superior for his seminary, and he would then use David for preaching. He thought that Richard not only had all the qualities of an excellent superior, but also "over and above everything he is skilled in managing temporal affairs; he would be a treasure for my diocese." In these days Flaget did not dare to think of France or even of Baltimore. "Kentucky absorbs all my thoughts, all my plans, and all my affections, and this poor Kentucky in possessing all that still possesses very little."

In the spring of this year there occurred a most interesting episode that aroused all the animation and zeal of the priests. It smacked so much of the colonial days of Salem and Cotton Mather that one could not help following with avid fascination the trail through the woods to the little cabin housing the mystery of the "energumen." Nerinckx, Chabrat, David, and Flaget on several different occasions visited the place. Once on returning from there the latter three ran into a heavy thunderstorm. Several terrible strokes of lightning struck near them, and one set fire to a tree. They had to exert all their strength to restrain their horses for these were "scared stiff." Fortunately, there was a house near the road where all could take shelter until the worst was over. The event probably made them feel all the more certain that they were in the midst of something extraordinary. The affair had

started rather modestly. Flaget was called to see a little ten-year-old girl who had been having convulsions. During his visit she had vomited up a worm and he had attributed her illness to this, so after a few prayers had departed. Later three other little ones fell ill with the same convulsion but without the worms. By the middle of April more than four hundred persons had seen the children. The physicians were puzzled at the affair; the priests began to wonder if they were witnessing a case of diabolical possession. They felt it might have "the greatest consequence for religion." The children not only had such convulsions that two men could scarcely hold them, but also foamed at the mouth and were "violently agitated." Of one David said, "she becomes as stiff as a board and her arms are spread in the form of a cross, her elbows turn inside, the lower back bends, the stomach and the breast elevated forming an arch and the mouth is sometimes horribly opened and the tongue deep in the mouth. . . . She swears, she blasphemes enough to make all the witnesses tremble and she begins to make coarse jokes about public women. They blush to listen to the expressions she uses."¹⁴ When holy water or scapulars were used on the girls they became silent; when Protestant observers used ordinary water or hymns of their denomination no effect was obtained. Flaget felt it might be necessary to call all the clerics together to observe them, and then to get the best physicians of the region to make a detailed examination. Only after the most careful attention to every detail would he finally attempt the exorcism of the Church. He said his Mass there two or three times. Finally, the affair seemed to have run its course. Flaget's last notice of it on June 24 was contained in a conversation with his good friend, Dr. John M. Harney of Bardstown, who thought that "the children were playing a part." *Shades of Salem!*

About June 10 a note arrived from Father Bruté, advising Flaget that the Archbishop was calling the Provincial Council together in November. The bishops had agreed in their conferences with Carroll immediately after their consecration that a Council should be held no later than in the year of 1812. Flaget made his preparation to leave for Baltimore. He decided to take Badin with him,

for he felt that the problem of the church property might be placed before either the Archbishop or the Council and that Badin ought to be there to present his case as well as perhaps be admonished by the Archbishop. Flaget hoped to collect funds in the East for his diocese, to obtain more seminarians, and to get a copy of the rules of the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul. On August 10 he moved from Badin's to his newly completed residence at St. Thomas. On September 1 he had his third synod of the year, wherein was discussed again the distribution of the missions. Other subjects of the conference were "his own departure to Baltimore, prayers in time of war, and Mr. Badin."

A week later he visited the Sisters of Loretto where, to his surprise, he found the entire congregation of St. Charles waiting to see him off. It was three o'clock before he could get breakfast, and then the nuns were in tears as they served him. He returned to the seminary in the evening around nine o'clock, happy in the thought that he had the confidence of his people. The next couple of days were spent in last minute visits and preparations. He had decided to visit as much of his diocese as he could cover on the way to Baltimore. On September 10 Chabrat and he started on that visitation. They stopped at Gwynns, and then went on to St. Michael's. In Shelby County they said Mass in the home of their guide, and Chabrat preached twice to a "considerable congregation," mostly Protestants. Here they picked up a new guide, who was to take them to Flat Creek. Evidently he immediately left them, for on their arrival at the first Catholic house some thirty miles away, there were only young girls there, so Chabrat had to unsaddle the horses. Here they had expected to spend the night, but to their chagrin after dinner the women held a "counsel" and then decided to have two of the girls take them to the place Father Badin generally said Mass when he was in that vicinity. As the ladies were so definite about it the priests offered no objections. The girls lost their way but finally they came across a plantation where proper directions were obtained. On reaching their destination about nine o'clock they again found no man present, and the Protestant mistress, who was of course

not expecting them, became very much embarrassed. Only a handful of people came to confession while they were there, and Flaget observed that if he did not provide for this congregation soon the faith would be lost. From there they went on to Scott County arriving September 15 at the residence of Father Robert Angier. Chabrat left to return to his mission, and Flaget remained with the Dominican some ten days, exercising his ministry. Conditions were not very satisfactory here, as the Bishop observed a spiritual languor in both pastor and people. The Bishop felt that the latter did not seem at all concerned about buying the ground for the church, and the pastor did not seem to have much zeal. Evidently Angier was already beginning to show the strain of his lonely station; finally his health broke so completely in 1816 that he was removed and sent back to Maryland. The church of St. Francis, built of boards, was some thirty feet by thirty feet, and had been there as early as 1795. Angier came to the post in 1808; although he immediately began to look for a more desirable site for the church, it was not until 1815 that a deed executed in favor of the Bishop was delivered to Flaget. One hundred and eighty-six acres of land were then purchased. The original church was located on a knoll near the property of Thomas C. Jenkins. In 1820, under another Dominican, Samuel L. Montgomery, the new St. Pius church was built here. The pastorate of St. Pius, in Scott County, was never a comfortable position, and it was no wonder it affected the mind of Father Angier.

While waiting here for Badin, Flaget administered Confirmation, heard confessions almost every day, and preached whenever the occasion presented itself. He visited Judge Twyman frequently and before leaving finally borrowed forty dollars from the judge. He noted uneasily once that he had been engaged in "unbecoming mirth." Badin arrived on September 24 and the two set out for Lexington. There Flaget confirmed about eighteen persons. Badin was considerably surprised when eighteen of the congregation went to Communion because that was many more than generally approached the Sacrament in Lexington. He felt that the only explanation for such a large number was the presence of the Bishop. On their departure Father Edward Fenwick accompanied

them a few miles; it is probable that he had intended to go with the Bishop to Baltimore but was deterred from doing so by the presence of Badin. They stayed overnight near Lexington, "with a landlord who was a very strong democrat." Flaget relates that: "I talked with him for amusement, and using a few Socratic arguments I succeeded in making him repudiate all that he had before said. Then an old soldier arrived, and he so monopolized the conversation that there was no room to put in a word. According to the two gentlemen [the soldier and the landlord] our young Kentucky warriors would never sheath the sword until they had pushed the Indians back to Hudson's Bay, and driven the English out of Canada, etc."

With over six hundred miles yet to travel, the two were concerned when their horses became very ill. The heat of the last days of September was intense, and a drought such as no one remembered since the region had been occupied was causing much anxiety. However, they continued on and arrived at the famous Salt Springs on the last day of the month. Washington was next on their route and then Limestone was reached. Flaget noted that "the blacks are in the most profound ignorance, and the whites are extremely indifferent." Badin preached in the courthouse at Limestone and made a great impression. They baptized several children along the way, and on some occasions Flaget acted as godfather, as at Limestone where was baptized the child of a Mr. Gallagher, the only Catholic of the town.

On October 7 the two crossed the Ohio River into the young, nine-year-old state. The first Catholics they met in Ohio were the William Cassels, and this couple were persuaded to move to Kentucky to live on Badin's farm. They stayed with a German who had a magnificent farm; the two were impressed by his Merino ram and a stallion which the farmer boasted had cost over eleven hundred dollars. Flaget had never seen a more perfect animal. The next day they were on their way to Chillicothe, and found the road covered with Methodist preachers coming from a conference. In town they met only a couple of Catholics, and a "reprobate of a Spaniard." That night they stopped over at Tarlton, and something caused the Bishop to muse that "they had the

wisdom in Ohio not to allow slavery. Just now hired help is costly, but with the present increase of the population this inconvenience will not last long, and they will be delivered from a race that might become a danger." After leaving here for New Lancaster, in order not to be mistaken for land speculators Badin shouted "to the right and left that he was a Catholic priest," and so discovered a Catholic in the innkeeper, who "was satisfied with prayers in payment of our bill." At New Lancaster Badin baptized five children. Outside this town on their way to Somerset, they came to the homes of two pioneer Catholics, John Finch and Jacob Dittoe. Dittoe also had an inn on the road. Flaget and Badin remained with him a few days, celebrating Mass in his home October 11, hearing confessions, giving instructions, and solemnizing marriages. This was the first visit of a bishop in Ohio and he spent some time in conversation with Dittoe, who had himself purchased some 320 acres of land to donate to the Church. He had already cleared ten acres of this land, and had built a small house on it. Dittoe promised to build a house and chapel jointly and Flaget promised in turn to send a priest there periodically until one could be sent permanently. Soon Father Edward Fenwick was to go there and earn the name of "Apostle of Ohio."

From here on more Catholics were encountered every day, enough that Badin could preach "a long and solid" sermon on the Sunday of October 18. A few days later they were embarrassed by meeting a young lady who wished to travel with them and it took some diplomacy to persuade her that this was not possible; on October 23 they encountered five inches of snow, and were lost in the woods for a time. Each day more Catholics were met and this necessitated the administration of the sacraments. They passed through Williamsport, Hagerstown, and then headed directly for Emmitsburg. Here, on Friday, October 30, Flaget clasped to his arms Bruté, Dubois, and the rest of his confreres. "Friendship everywhere, weather superb," gloated the emotion-laden Bishop. He spent the week end here, talking, comparing notes, and visiting the Sisters of Emmitsburg. On Monday, November 2, he left and was in Baltimore the next day, where he again had the joy of greeting old friends at St. Mary's Seminary, just two months after

leaving St. Thomas. Badin had left him in Emmitsburg, in order to go to Conewago to make his Retreat. On Wednesday Flaget paid his first respects to the Archbishop, and "this respectable old man threw himself on his knees to ask my blessing." The next day he dined with Carroll, and from then on there set in such a regime of visiting and social life that Flaget soon grew tired and wished himself back in Kentucky. He was now a visiting bishop too, so he had to perform at different functions.

He knew, well before reaching Baltimore, that the Provincial Council had been postponed. He was the only bishop not to have received word of this in time to prevent his departure. Bishop Cheverus had protested against holding the Council at this time, maintaining that the professors at the seminary could decide the problems of the moment. Cheverus had not relished the long trip from Boston and because of his opposition the Archbishop gave up the project. It also appears that Archbishop Carroll felt reluctant to hold such a Council while the Holy Father was still a prisoner of the French tyrant.

Conferences with the Archbishop brought no solution of Flaget's difficulty with Father Badin. Carroll was unable to come to a decision on the matter, and as at that time there was no canon law applicable, sometime in 1816 it was referred to Rome, which returned a verdict in favor of the Bishop. His other projects were no more successful. The war had brought on "hard times" and it was not considered advisable to try to take up a collection in Baltimore. However, Badin was not to be deterred; he gave the Catholics of Washington, D. C., a chance to aid those of Kentucky. Meanwhile winter surrounded Baltimore and made a trip over the mountains practically impossible. Flaget was given an apartment at the Sulpician seminary, and all his friends tried to make his sojourn agreeable. They succeeded to such an extent that it became "painful on account of the *dissipation* into which it draws me, in spite of myself." Every day there were those who came to hear about the new diocese or else to inquire about Father David. All too frequently for his peace of mind he had to dine out.

In the first few days of January he managed to make another

visit to Emmitsburg and while there made a Retreat. He ardently desired to have the Council held as he felt it was very expensive to have two men come all the way from Kentucky for nothing. He had one of his clerical friends write the Bishop of Boston on the subject, but this bit of diplomacy came to nothing so he finally was forced to the conclusion that pressure upon Cheverus would be useless. It was a real relief to see spring slowly appear, and an eager Flaget left Baltimore on April 22, 1813, to return to his own diocese. He again passed a few pleasant days with his good friend, Father Bruté at Emmitsburg. Here he was joined by Father Badin, who brought also his young brother, Vincent, who wanted to study for the priesthood in Flaget's seminary. With the two Badins and some other companions he then traveled West. Ten miles from Cumberland he administered Confirmation, and some sixty persons also received Communion. At Brownsville he again gave Confirmation. These episcopal functions were performed at the request of the Archbishop, who by then was too old to journey to these points. At Brownsville, the party with their horses got a "family boat" and went down the Ohio River to Limestone. Here they left the river and rode to Lexington, Frankfort, and finally came joyfully home to St. Thomas.¹⁵

Some time before, David had written Bruté that "the public news will inform you of the great havoc wrought along the Mississippi and in Carolina (by the earthquakes—also felt in Kentucky). These are signs of the last day. They have awakened sentiments of religion in many hearts." When David had written this there had been several shocks, and they were still from time to time experiencing others.¹⁶ By the time Flaget returned David had forgotten about these signs, for the Bishop's absence had increased his own duties and cares to such an extent that earthquakes were of little moment.

To Flaget the trip to Baltimore had been not only an experience but also a revelation. The growth of the Church in Ohio he had noted; some of the weak points in Kentucky he had observed at firsthand. He was in the midst of the beginning of Catholicism in the West, and he pointed with a thoughtful finger to the crying need of the time. Certainly it was the experiences on the road to

Baltimore during this winter of 1812–1813 that caused the Bishop to muse: “It is almost impossible to form an idea of the Catholics who forget their religion on account of the lack of priests, or the lack of zeal in the priests who have charge of these congregations. Not a day passes that we do not find great numbers of these strayed sheep, who, because they do not see their real shepherd, become Baptists, Methodist, etc., or at least nothingists. To remedy this great evil it would be necessary that a priest, filled with the spirit of God, and convinced of the value of souls, should often get away from his accustomed route, and going out into the country, ask if there are not Catholics in those regions. The discovery of a single one will lead to the discovery of ten others. If he found only one family he could say Mass there, preach, catechise, and pray. Let him show a great desire for the salvation of souls, and a contempt for their money. With such dispositions a priest would have the consolation of bringing to the bosom of the Church millions of her children who never will enter it unless we go after them.”¹⁷

Six

THE Bishop had been gone for a half year from his see; before his departure he had spent only three months at St. Thomas and he was back again for only three months when he set out on another extensive tour of his diocese. His observation, made in later years, that he had spent scarcely four nights together under one roof in these early days was not too much of an exaggeration. For the next few years, as he began to travel in an ever widening arc around his diocese in order to learn the conditions of his immense territory, his life was often at the mercy of nature. He was not only thrown into intimate contact with the American frontiersman and the cruder aspects of that type of civilization in the Northwest, but he was also in danger often of floods, of being lost on the plains, of unfriendly Indians, of capture by the British enemy, of deadly pestilence, and of many other perils. One of his comments on his first trip to Upper Louisiana could have been made often thereafter: "We were sometimes four days at a time traversing immense prairies, exposed to legions of flies and mosquitoes, which covered both travelers and horses with blood. It is in such journeys as these that I forget all troubles of spirit, and give myself up to my natural gaiety, in order to amuse my companions of travel; and it is here that my health is strengthened."¹

On his return from Baltimore he found that David had managed to keep affairs running smoothly, and had even started their long-discussed Sisterhood. David had not been very happy at the responsibility, which often caused him moments of "grief and anguish." Flaget's return gave him a little more equanimity. During the next three months Flaget performed those episcopal functions required of him close at hand.

One unpleasant duty of his at this time demanded the use of the pastoral staff, that emblem of authority which had been given him with the warning of "not neglecting strictness of discipline through love of tranquillity." He had placed into operation a financial plan to secure from the different congregations a regular support for their pastors. This seems to have required an assessment, and a few fractious characters were loud in protest. The Bishop was aware of the mischief these few could do, so he met their challenge at once. Dressed in all his episcopal vestments, staff in hand, he admonished these dissenters from the altars of St. Charles and St. Rose in the strongest terms, and threatened them with excommunication if they persisted in their public opposition to his authority.

Flaget attended the election of the first Superior of Nazareth, and in an eloquent little sermon impressed upon the six women a sense of their new state. All during this year and the next, one of the chief concerns of Flaget and David was the proper launching of this infant convent. Flaget had been considering the advisability of joining it in some manner with Mother Seton's, the Sisters of Charity of St. Joseph, but soon decided their own Sisters were too far removed to be made dependent upon a superior resident in Maryland. They still had not received the rule they had asked Father Bruté to copy for them. David thought also it might be practical to secure the services of one of the Emmitsburg Sisters to train those of his own community. In his humility David had not thought of being the founder and director of a separate American order. In discussing with Father Dubois, the ecclesiastical superior of the Sisters at Emmitsburg, plans for a union of the two or at least for a common novitiate, various difficulties arose.² It was too far to send the novices to Maryland for their training. Dubois was afraid that the Maryland establishment might be held responsible for the financial affairs of that of Kentucky. Father David protested to Archbishop Carroll over the title of the superior; Maryland wished her to be called Sister Servant, and David cogently pointed out that this term would have a harmful effect in Kentucky. Of this he told Bruté, "I couldn't consent to the Superior bearing the name of Sister Servant which

would render her a subservant in the eyes of the student boarders in a country where the name is synonymous with that of slave. Moreover it seemed to me outlandish that a Superior of a novitiate home has ever borne that name. I asked therefore also that all our novices for Kentucky be trained here, and that the Superior of the community be named by the Bishop, as well as the confessor ordinary and extraordinary. It will be necessary also to modify the particular rules according to the customs and circumstances of the country. . . .”³ The Archbishop agreed entirely with him on both the title and the training of the novices in Kentucky. So many obstacles presented themselves that finally and imperceptibly all ideas of union with Emmitsburg were dropped. The rule of the Sisters of Charity, with modifications made by the Sulpicians and by Flaget with Carroll’s approval, was adopted for the Kentucky order.

The first duty that the Sisters took up was that of making clothes for the seminarians. In order to maintain themselves they not only planted their own garden and gathered their own fuel, but they also spun and wove wool and made garments for sale among their neighbors. They took in several poor people of the community. Except for the two hours with David in the classroom each day and their regular periods of prayer they spent all their time in manual labor in these first two or three years. The seminarians meanwhile had managed to add a few more small buildings to the original one. As this group was only a half mile from St. Thomas the boys did not have far to travel to work at Nazareth, as David named the community.

Early in 1814 a valuable addition came to the Nazareth community, traveling all the way from Maryland to join the Sisters. This was Ellen O’Connell, only daughter of a widowed professor of languages and rhetoric who had trained her carefully, so that she herself was a capable teacher. In Maryland she had come under the influence of Father David, and kept up a correspondence with him when he went to Kentucky. On learning of his new Sisterhood, she determined to go to Kentucky to offer her services. Her scholarly training and teaching experience was exactly what David needed, and she was heartily welcomed. She aided him in training the others, and they decided to open a school that fall.

The seminarians set to work and quickly put up a log schoolhouse. On September 14, 1814, classes began; the first student to appear was Cecily O'Brien, a girl who lived close by. She later joined the community and lived to celebrate her fiftieth year as a religious. In four years, as the reputation of the school increased, boarders poured in and a new brick building was put up. Sister Ellen directed the school for almost twenty years, served as mistress of novices, and until her death in 1841 was, next to Mother Spalding, one of the leading spirits of the community.

On June 20 Flaget conferred minor orders on Derigaud and Schaeffer and the tonsure on Moretty, and [related David] on "my dear son Charles Coomes, who gives me delight and consolation." David had at this time nine young men in the seminary: Schaeffer and Derigaud in theology; Moretty, who was to continue another year before deciding that his mental capacities were not equal to the requirements of the priesthood, but who nevertheless remained as chief carpenter of St. Thomas; Robert Abell, Charles Coomes, Gilbert Gras, a cousin of Flaget, Ignatius Reynolds, Vincent Badin, and one whose name is unknown. Most of the seminarians' recreation time had been spent in labor of various kinds; they had managed to put up several small buildings. David's aspiration for a chapel was more ambitious. The seminarians, during the summer, made thousands of bricks, and on August 23, Flaget blessed the foundation. The chapel was to be sixty-four by thirty feet, with the sanctuary twenty-four by twenty feet. They were also working on a five-room building for the Sisters, "all this without costing anything other than nails."

Flaget and David were walking together in their woods on one of the last days of September of 1813, discussing their problems, when they received more news from Maryland to add to their sadness. For some time they had been concerned about the course of the two establishments there, and it seemed that almost every letter contained some further item of anxiety. One of the boys at Mt. St. Mary's had promised to enter the seminary at St. Thomas and to serve Flaget's diocese. Preparations were made for his arrival and Flaget wrote him directions on crossing the mountains and coming down the river to Louisville. "I have no doubt that

the devil, that enemy of everything good, will not like the project, while he will suggest to you many extremely plausible objections for suspending your departure," wrote Flaget. However, already ten days before this letter was penned, on July 18, 1813, Joseph Clauzel of Bordeaux had passed to his eternal reward. That same July, another student, who had also come over from France with Flaget in 1810, was taken very ill. Julian Romeuf died at Mt. St. Mary's on August 3, and was buried near Clauzel. Flaget was in tears over the loss to his diocese, and trembled lest his sins or those of his flock might have brought on the calamity.

To this grievous news Father Tessier had added something still more heartbreaking by the same mails. He had adverted to the return of David to Baltimore, implying that the task for which he had been sent to Kentucky was completed. For the next four years both Flaget and David were to fight against this removal, and the struggle was not brought to an end until Flaget succeeded in having David appointed his coadjutor in 1817. When the first move in this affair occurred, Flaget wrote Bruté, September 21, 1813, "I can scarcely pardon this good father for having added affliction to affliction. If I had not warded off this blow it undoubtedly would have been the death of me, and would have plunged my diocese into a much worse state than it was fifteen years ago. I bless God for having strengthened me in the midst of all these afflictions, for I had many reasons for consolation before receiving all this news. . . . I forget all the troubles which weigh upon my soul when I think of the college of St. Mary's. . . . While awaiting the moment of sacrifice to come we are getting along the best we are able. . . ."⁴ Although often the two Kentuckians were perplexed and aggrieved at the drastic actions of their Sulpician colleagues in Baltimore, especially those of Tessier and Maréchal, they did not lose their temper openly and tried to be charitable in their outlook and criticism. Often using poor judgment and sometimes less taste, nevertheless both Tessier and Maréchal had almost insuperable obstacles to meet in that era of the beginning of the Society of St. Sulpice in the United States.

The death of the two young men at Emmitsburg also caused the

Kentucky seminary some nervousness as several of the students there were very sick at the time. David had been obliged to play the physician, with "my medical guide and my medicinal box." However, he "was tremblingly at a loss," with only a tenth of the remedies required, so he finally called in a doctor. He was afraid they all had worms, and begged Father Dubois, who he heard had an "infallible cure" for the malady to send it on.

It was, therefore, a somewhat somber Flaget who set out in the last week of September 1813, with Father Nerinckx, "on a trip for two or three months to visit a great number of Catholics whom I have not yet seen and who scarcely see a priest once or twice a year."⁵ The fact that he was taking Nerinckx with him on this episcopal visitation makes it probable that the remote parts of Union County, that extensive western mission of Nerinckx, was the area of the journey.

Upon his return he began that long-drawn-out correspondence with Father Tessier on David's removal; in letter after letter, he insisted that his seminary was as much in the tradition and spirit of St. Sulpice as that at Baltimore, that Father Emery had not loaned David to him for a limited period, but rather had given him unconditionally if he set up and maintained a seminary there. He argued that if David were withdrawn, the diocese of the West would practically cease to exist, as the missionaries for the region could come only from a diocesan seminary, and David was essential for its continuation. To deprive the forces of religion in one part of the country to aid those of another was not plausible. He pointed out that there were twelve seminarians at St. Thomas, who were well on their way to the priesthood, all under the tutelage of David. Neither Flaget nor his Baltimore adversaries would give in so the matter was finally sent to the Superior-General in France for settlement.

Before the affair was settled there came another threat to the repose of David in Kentucky. Bishop Egan of Philadelphia died in July of 1814; the humble Franciscan had been worn out by the many perplexing problems of his diocese. He faced factious trustees and turbulent priests, and finally schism. By September

Archbishop Carroll was polling the remaining bishops and a few priests, whose special position or talent merited his confidence, concerning a successor to Egan for this trouble spot.

In 1812 the Holy See had appointed Dr. Louis William Valentine DuBourg administrator of the diocese of New Orleans. After studying theology in a special seminary for gifted youths directed by the Sulpicians, he had been ordained at Paris in 1788, fled France during the Revolution, and arrived in Baltimore in December, 1794. He was admitted to the Society of St. Sulpice the next year. In 1796 he was appointed president of Georgetown college. Father Flaget was vice-president under DuBourg. Although DuBourg added to the prestige of the college by his brilliance, he dissatisfied the trustees. Soon the two left Georgetown for the Havana adventure, and on his return DuBourg founded St. Mary's Academy in Baltimore, which was the object of much dispute, and which eventually became St. Mary's College. It was joined to the seminary, and although by 1800 a new building was completed to house the college students, this dual nature of St. Mary's aroused the anxiety of Father Emery as not meeting the true object of the society: the reply to this was that the college was needed to support the seminary. Naturally the project also aroused the opposition of Georgetown and Bishop Carroll was not happy about it. After various vicissitudes DuBourg opened the college in 1803 to all creeds and all nationalities and this again met opposition. Yet the energetic Sulpician drove ahead. He put up several expensive buildings, and in his usual manner went far into debt—so far that Flaget squirmed in anguish. He lost \$40,000 in bad debts chiefly owing to the unhappy state of affairs during the Embargo and War of 1812. These debts were mostly for board and room incurred by students from the West Indies, who could not pay when they were caught in the current of the Napoleonic wars. Despite all this, DuBourg was really a big man in every way; he had a charming personality, great personal influence, bluff easy manners, and his very size gave the impression of hidden power. After a few visits to Annapolis, and the reception of various legislators as guests of the college to view its work, he had obtained in 1805 a charter from the state with its recognition

as a university empowered to grant degrees. His remarkable deeds prompted Father Emery several times to tell him that he was never intended to be a Sulpician. Emery wrote Carroll that DuBourg was not made "for living calmly and being confined in one house. He needs a larger field of action. He has taste for great enterprises. . . ." He also told the Archbishop that DuBourg naturally dominated and influenced those around him, and "took ascendancy over them."⁶

This restless man, who for two years had been struggling with the chaos of the diocese of New Orleans, was considered, with David, as a possibility for the bishopric of Philadelphia. Two possibilities existed—to nominate DuBourg for Philadelphia and David for New Orleans, or to nominate David for Philadelphia and leave DuBourg in New Orleans. All those consulted indicated David as their first choice for Philadelphia. Carroll noted that DuBourg was disgusted with New Orleans, so would be happy to trade it for Philadelphia; but the Archbishop felt there was more constancy, prudence, and talent in David. Bishop Cheverus of Boston left the matter to the better judgment of the Archbishop but admitted that "if the removal of the Rev. M. David from Kentucky is likely to prove a material injury to religion in that country, I would hardly think it right to benefit Philadelphia at the expense of another diocese."

The news of these proceedings finally reached David, and profoundly shocked him. Dubois first apprised him of the rumor, but David felt it was so improbable that it must necessarily be false. When Bruté assured him of its possibility, he began to grow uneasy. Then DuBourg followed with details to Flaget, who maintained that it could not be true, as he was to be consulted. Then, during one of Flaget's frequent absences, David received the dreaded tidings from the Archbishop, and he immediately wrote both Bishops. His protests to Carroll were fervid, humble, and, to the outsider, amusing. Said he:

. . . O, my dear Father! How could you think of such a poor wretch to fill up an episcopal see? I had reason to hope that you knew me better. Are you so destitute of subjects worthy of that eminent post, to come and seek in the woods of Kentucky

for me who am so unworthy of it? Do not imagine, my dear Father, that this proceeds from humility. Alas! I am a total stranger to that virtue. I know but the theory of it. . . . But I clearly see my incapacity for such a charge. . . . I earnestly entreat the divine goodness to preserve me from the burden of a Bishopric; but if I must be a Bishop, let it not be of New Orleans. Surely if you did not think a man of Rev. Mr. DuBourg's eminent talents, engaging address, uncommon presence of mind, fertility of resources, readiness of expression, in a word, every quality that can gain ascendancy and triumph over obstacles was suited to that arduous task; you could never be induced to believe that such a one as I am, of slender talents, very moderate learning, rough and uncouth manners, slowness of conception, awkwardness of expression, uncommon pusillanimity in danger, perplexity and irresolution in difficulties, dejection and melancholy in disappointments and contradictions, and a thousand other defects which I have discovered in myself in my present station; I am not even fit for the one I occupy; I assure you I discharge the duties of it very imperfectly. The frightful idea of being the Bishop of New Orleans haunts me continually and keeps me in a constant dread. I earnestly beg you to let me know whether these fears are groundless or not. . . . Your reverence very rightly judges of the affliction of Bishop Flaget in losing me; for poor and miserable as I am Providence so ordained that I should be necessary to his Diocese. I do not think that he will agree with your reverence in calling the good which God is pleased to do here by my means a private consideration; for it is the good of the most extensive Diocese of the United States; especially if regard is paid to the numerous nations of Indians which fall within the boundary of his jurisdiction. I am here endeavoring to form missionaries, and God seems to help my endeavors. I have here eleven promising youths; four have begun logic and advance as rapidly as I can wish, the others follow at various distances. If I am taken from them and no one is sent to take my place, this seminary must be dissolved; every prospect of procuring priests of this Diocese vanishes away. The Bishop of Kentucky is destitute of what he is so good as to consider his support, his comfort, etc. He has declared to me that if I am taken from him, he will renounce the establishments which he has undertaken with so much expense and labour, and plunge (it is his expression) headlong into the labours of the mission. . . .⁷

When the news of this new threat to his diocese reached Bishop

Flaget he was on another tour of his diocese. He immediately sent a couple of excited missives back to the Archbishop in which he recalled that Carroll had agreed to consult him on all nominations, and plainly intimated that he would fight David's removal to the last. He was against the election of David for Philadelphia, not only because of his need in the seminary, but also because he felt more harm would be done Kentucky than good would be realized in Philadelphia. "To make a man bishop with no priests is a kind of cruelty," exclaimed Flaget to Carroll.⁸ These letters brought a sharp reply from the Archbishop. Said he:

Your much esteemed and candid letter of July 21st, received yesterday, bore evidence not only of your displeasure for the presentation of Mr. David for the see of Philadelphia, but likewise contained a complaint against me for omitting to consult you on the occasion. . . . It is probable, that you will not experience the loss of the Rev. Mr. David so much dreaded by you. It seems that several Irish bishops have interfered in a matter, which concerns them not, and presumed to recommend the Rev. Mr. Harold Jr., who quarrelled so outrageously with his humble Bishop Dr. Egan, was removed from being the Vicar gen., and finally exercised no faculties whatever. He then reembarked to Ireland and since Dr. Egan's death, an interest has been made for him in that country. I did not expect that my friend the abps. of Dublin, Dr. Troy would be at the head of that interest. But as I still hope that some copy of my dispatches to Rome has been at length received, it is still very uncertain, what will be its effect comparatively with that of the Irish prelates.⁹

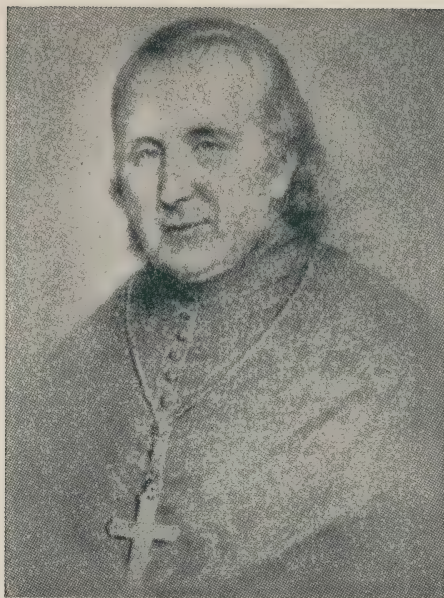
Both Flaget and David wrote in protest to Pius VII. Through Flaget's protests David's name was dropped from consideration for Philadelphia, and the see remained vacant for too long a period. Then in 1820, as a result of a stronger foreign interference, there came a complete episcopal surprise, one Dr. Henry Conwell of Dungannon, Ireland, who was only to add to the confusion and the unhappy state of religion in that benighted see. In the meantime, the Sulpician controversy was placed in the hands of the Superior-General, and the pleas of all shifted to him. Again the old ground was gone over; David showed that he was the only one who was on hand to handle the situation; that Flaget had

already obtained much success in his new diocese, and that it was ridiculous for Tessier to speak of David's succeeding him as superior at Baltimore when there was only a little more than four years difference in their age. "I know, because Rev. M. Maréchal does not see this establishment with his own eyes, he has done what he has to withdraw me," reported David to the Sulpician General. David finally pointed out most cogently that were he returned to Baltimore he would probably be made bishop of Philadelphia, as the Holy Father had only refrained from that step because of Flaget's needs in Kentucky. Bishop Flaget, in June, 1814, expressed to Father Duclaux his sentiments. He advanced the same arguments, and also noted that David was his only counselor and friend, "the only one on whose knowledge and wisdom I can count with certainty."¹⁰

Although these two items caused much anxiety as to the future welfare of the diocese, especially in that year of 1814, both David and Flaget continued their accustomed pursuits. David already needed a confrere to aid him in the seminary, where he was most busy with his dozen seminarians. One who had been advanced to the tonsure had just left the seminary, but had been replaced by "an excellent young man who was a school teacher in this region."¹¹ Several more wished to enter the seminary but the financial situation would not permit their admission. David was acting as advisor and confessor to the seven nuns of Nazareth. At the same time the seminarians were building the brick chapel of St. Thomas, with the able assistance of the architect, Mr. John Rogers, who "was sparing no effort to help them." As this was expected to be the cathedral for several years, special effort was being made to have it finished by August.

Sometime during the Easter season of this year Peter Schaeffer was ordained priest, and Derigaud a subdeacon. Abell, Reynolds, and another whose name is not recorded were given the tonsure. The Bishop also attempted to organize his clerics into a semi-society, "with St. Thomas as their mother house where they would come to make their Retreats and where they would have a refuge in their old age." They would go out on the missions by twos, an older man accompanying the younger in order to form the latter's

Bishop Guy I. Chabrat



Bishop Ignatius A. Reynolds



Rev. Charles Nerinckx



Rev. Stephen T. Badin

habits properly. A superior, acting under the Bishop, would direct their activities and positions. This idea of Flaget's was not realized, as difficulties interposed.¹²

Around Pentecost, the Bishop left on his first visitation of those regions in his diocese that were outside Kentucky. He had already made several extensive tours of Kentucky and was well acquainted with the congregations and Catholics of that state. On his trip to Baltimore in 1812-1813 he had passed through Ohio, met most of the few Catholics there, and was made aware of their situation and needs. His next survey was to be taken in the opposite direction, toward the Mississippi River, to embrace what was then the Illinois country and the Territory of Indiana.

In 1812, the Catholics of Vincennes had sent the Bishop a petition for a resident priest. Governor Harrison had added his name to the petition and had assured the Bishop that the governor of the territory would do everything possible to promote the interests of such a project and would give every aid necessary to the priest. The last priest stationed there, Father Jean Francois Rivet, a Sulpician, had died in 1804 and Vincennes then became dependent upon the visits of the priests stationed in Illinois. Father Donatien Olivier, living at Prairie du Rocher, went there as often as possible, and both Badin and Nerinckx had also visited the town. Although Olivier visited Vincennes in 1813 the Bishop had not found it possible to send him or anyone else as pastor. Flaget made Vincennes his first stop on his episcopal visitation. It took him three days, on horseback, to make the one hundred and twenty mile journey. He had been accompanied by Badin and Chabrat to Louisville, but, from that point, set out by himself. He arrived at Vincennes on May 28, 1814, to be met outside the town by a large cavalcade of horsemen, led by Father Olivier, formed to provide some pomp to the occasion. The joy of the people was profound, celebrations were in order, receptions held, speeches made, feasts prepared, and the delighted Bishop was made to feel that he had only yesterday left these happy Frenchmen of Vincennes.

Two days later he went to the cemetery, with practically all the Catholics of the town, to pray at the grave of Father Rivet.

That same day, May 30, "he solemnly blessed a company of Rangers, who were setting out for the seat of war. They dismounted . . . he invoked the blessing of God on them; exhorting them not to forget the God of battles, while fighting bravely under the banner of their country."¹³

The seat of war was on two fronts in this summer of 1814. Unknown yet to Flaget, Paris had been taken by the Allies and the French tyrant, Napoleon, abdicated on April 6. With this completion of the French phase of the war, the British could turn their full attention to the American scene. By June a British expeditionary force was heading for Chesapeake Bay. On August 24 the disgraceful rout at Bladensburg occurred, and the next day the capital was in flames. Coadjutor Bishop Leonard Neale wrote to his Archbishop that the latter undoubtedly had learned of the humiliated situation of Washington, but that not one of the enemy had entered Georgetown. The British left immediately and made their ineffective attempt on Baltimore, which was the end of that campaign. Its more noted result was "The Star Spangled Banner."

During the whole summer the British fleet blockaded the Atlantic coast, occupying Maine and other points. New England was in the darkest gloom, the national war loan failed, and before the end of the year the Hartford Convention was meeting. In the meantime two other campaigns were in progress against the Americans on northern and western fronts. The British planned to invade the United States at Niagara and Lake Champlain. On July 4 General Jacob Brown and General Winfield Scott began the operation that culminated in the Battles of Chippewa and the later Battle of Lundy's Lane. Although these were indecisive the British were halted. By the middle of August Sir George Prevost had several thousand of Wellington's veterans near Montreal ready for another try. In September he faced an American fleet under Commodore Macdonough, and the decisive naval battle of Plattsburg forced the badly beaten British to retire into Canada. On another front, a new frontier hero emerged. General Andrew Jackson won a series of engagements on the southwestern frontier, broke the power of the Creek Indians, and by August had forced a humiliating treaty upon them. He then invaded Spanish Florida,

and at the end of the year was facing another British invasion at New Orleans. While the nuns in the convents prayed, he won the battle of New Orleans; but before this had been fought the Treaty of Ghent had been signed, December 24, 1814.

While all these events were taking place Flaget was riding over the prairies of the Illinois country and the Kaskaskias River valley covering the region from Vincennes, Indiana, to St. Louis, Missouri. He heard confessions, preached in English as well as in French, instructed both children and those who were to be confirmed, attended to the affairs of the estate of Father Rivet, and to whatever other matters of administration were necessary. In the pulpit he spoke strongly against marriages out of the Church and of the abuses prevalent at dances. On June 5 he administered the Sacrament of Confirmation to eighty-six persons. Nine days later, escorted by a company of French Rangers, he and Father Olivier left and were soon on the great uncharted prairies of the Illinois country. After riding four days without taking off their clothes or even their boots, the party arrived at Cahokias where they found Father Francis Savine, who in 1811 had accompanied Bishop Flaget and his companions from Pittsburgh. This congregation was not only free of debt but even had a surplus. After the usual ministrations Flaget confirmed some one hundred and eighteen here. The people of the parish accompanied him to the Mississippi River, but he crossed it in a canoe with only the oarsman. On June 30 he arrived in St. Louis quietly and with no fanfare. Although he was welcomed and feted by the society of St. Louis he found their religious zeal much less satisfying than their social zeal. Religious apathy reigned and very few people came to confession. Hence, he seemed to have confirmed only a few persons. Father Savine and the lone Trappist, Father Marie Joseph Dunand, who had remained behind when his companion Trappists had returned to Europe and who was now attending the missions west of the Mississippi River, came to join him by this time. Two events lightened the gloom of his visit in St. Louis; the ladies of the city presented him with a fine cross and miter, and he heard about the fall of Napoleon.

Flaget left St. Louis on July 8 for Florissant. Here he was

received in the more solemn manner of the French Catholics, with processions, banners, and singing. After the ceremonies held in the church, he met the congregation and noted among those who crowded around to receive his blessing two who claimed to be 107 and 108 years old. He departed from Florissant on July 11 and crossed the Missouri River in style, sitting in an armchair on a canoe decorated with flowers. The congregation found in this next stop was in a quarrelsome, divided state, forcing the Bishop to preach on union and charity and exercising all the wiles of his diplomacy. He confirmed one hundred and three here and although he does not give, in his journal, the location or name of this place of dissention, he does note that he went to visit two persons who were 103 and 115 years old. This time the ancients were women. He was at St. Charles by July 18, and three days afterward went to Portage aux Sioux, where he remained a week, confirming fifty-four persons. Then he returned to St. Charles, where again his tact was called into play as the people were very unfriendly to their pastor, Father Dunand, whose background may have unfitted him for pastoral duties. Flaget talked to everyone and held meetings with all concerned in order to bring about a happier state. Exercising his usual charm, he soon not only brought an end to the bickering, but even managed to secure a willingness on the part of the people to build a home for the pastor and to support him financially. On July 31 he crowned his work here by confirming sixty-seven persons.

On August 3 he returned to St. Louis and again expressed privately his concern over "the extreme indifferentism" of the people. Several young men who came to him for confession, in order to have their marriages solemnized in the Church, impressed him as lacking in proper contrition. He preached to the Americans in English and won their hearty approval. He found a larger group, some seventy-two persons ready for the Sacrament of Confirmation on this second visit. In the meantime, his old friend Governor William Clark gave him every mark of respect and courtesy, inviting the Bishop to his home and even persuading him to baptize three of his children as well as an orphan girl living with him. Flaget also acted as godfather to the children.

On August 14 he left St. Louis and crossed the river into Illinois where he was met by a large escort who took him to Cahokias. There he confirmed eighty-five. On August 23 he left for Prairie du Rocher where he was met by Olivier. Here he confirmed sixty-five persons on September 1.

The constant labor, endless hours in the saddle under the hot sun, the confinement of the confessional far into the night or early in the morning finally took their toll and in the first week of September Flaget was down with a fever. Although much weakened by this, on September 14 he was again on his way to Kaskaskias. Here on two separate days, he confirmed some one hundred and ten persons. On September 21 he went to St. Genevieve where he found it necessary to preach on the laws of abstinence and on dancing. On three different occasions he confirmed a total of three hundred and sixty-one people. On October 5 he "visited an American Catholic settlement at some distance, where forty-five were confirmed." He spent two weeks on this trip and then returned to St. Genevieve. While here he received the news concerning David and wrote the first of his letters of protest to Archbishop Carroll. At the same time he informed the Metropolitan of his work, telling him that although he must have confirmed nearly twelve hundred, none received the Sacrament before making their First Communion. Flaget also told Carroll that he needed at least ten more priests for this area, with an additional ten for work among the Indians.¹⁴ At St. Genevieve he also preached to the Negro slaves, estimating that there must be nearly five hundred of these in the community. He found that marriage was not regarded as a necessity for the slaves, so felt it incumbent to warn the masters to the contrary, threatening excommunication to the master who deprived the slave of this sacrament. Nevertheless, evidently having before their eyes the clear signs of apostolic poverty, the people gave him fifty dollars and a new suit.

On October 27 he rejoined Father Olivier at Prairie du Rocher and rested a few days from his labors. On November 3 he was again in Kaskaskias, where he confirmed another thirty-eight persons. November 8 he left here, escorted by some sixteen young

French horsemen, to return to Vincennes. A half day's ride from this town the troop had an amusing adventure. Three of the lads rode ahead to announce the coming of the prelate. A short time afterward they were riding madly back with the report that they had been attacked by Indians. The band looked to their rifles, made Flaget remain in their rear, and rode to meet the menace. The enemy burst from the woods, and amidst war whoops the two charges met head-on. The Indians were a half-dozen young men, come out from Post Vincennes, to take part in the escort of the Bishop to the town. Two hours later, the bells of the town pealing, the tired warriors rode in. Flaget remained at Vincennes another two weeks, twice again administering Confirmation to another forty people. On November 28 he left Vincennes and arrived in Louisville December 3, where he found that for ten days Chabrat had been anxiously awaiting his return as rumor had reached Kentucky that he had been captured by the Indians or the British.

The Bishop estimated that on this visitation he had traveled over nine hundred miles while he had been gone a little over six months. He had administered the Sacrament of Confirmation to some twelve hundred and seventy-five persons in at least eleven different localities — Vincennes, Indiana; Cahokias, Prairie du Rocher, Kaskaskias in Illinois; St. Louis, Florissant, St. Charles, Portage aux Sioux, and St. Genevieve, in Missouri; and some other places not named in his journal.

The Illinois region at the time of Flaget's visit was in the stage of territorial development toward statehood. Illinois territory was created in 1809; second-grade status, with the privilege of a legislature was acquired in 1812. The enabling act to grant Illinois statehood was approved in April, 1818, with the population requirement fixed at 40,000. The great majority of the people visited by Flaget were French remnants of the pre-English era. He especially notes in his journal when he comes into contact with "American Catholics." The Kaskaskias River, the Illinois River, and the smaller streams of that area, with the Mississippi, had been the highways of the French between the St. Lawrence and the southern regions to the Gulf of Mexico. Kaskaskias, Cahokias,

Prairie du Rocher, and the other places he had visited were the older French settlements of the pre-Revolutionary period. Far to the North were Green Bay, Prairie du Chien, and other French settlements which Flaget had hoped to visit but had been deterred from so doing because of the war.

At the time of his visitation there was but a thin line of settlements along these river bottoms. The most thickly settled area was that between the Kaskaskias and the Mississippi Rivers which had been occupied by the French for at least a century. Although Kaskaskias had lost many of its people after the Treaty of 1763 turned the country over to the English, the town was still important enough to be made a land office seat in 1804, and the territorial capital in 1809. A few years later the town had over one hundred and fifty houses of French style, with neatly laid out gardens, and was in a generally prosperous condition. More than half the population were French, who were mostly engaged in raising stock. Besides the land office, there was a post office, printing shop, with its paper, *The Illinois Herald*, at least nine general stores, three tailor shops, a hat shop, and a tavern. Fifteen miles away was Prairie du Rocher, a village of about forty families. Cahokias, opposite St. Louis, was another French settlement declining in population and importance. Most of the Illinois Territory was unsettled, especially in the upper part. Over these vast prairies from Vincennes to St. Louis was a new road on which a very few taverns were in operation. Flaget may have used this on his 1814 trip, and surely did on his next visitation. From Kaskaskias to St. Louis ran the "Great Western Road," and this Flaget must have taken for his several trips along the Mississippi River to visit the French settlements on that River, St. Genevieve and Prairie du Rocher. At the time of this visit of Flaget two thirds of the present Illinois was Indian country; the Sacs, the Foxes, the Potawatomi, the Kickapoo, the Chippewa were still there, perhaps 13,000 all together.¹⁵ Flaget was not able to visit them, but he thought about their needs, as is evident from his letter to Carroll cited previously.

There was certainly a revival of religion among these easygoing French communities; although the presence of their spiritual

leader was in itself enough to bring this about, the gentility, the holiness, the devotion, and the personality of the Bishop himself were added incentives. The reception of the Sacrament of Confirmation inspired many. Of this visit Flaget gleefully told his brother, "I was received by these French people as an angel descended from heaven; they rendered to my character all due honor. . . . The churches were always full, when I announced the word of God; and I preached every day at least once or twice; on Sundays as far as four times, the confessional was crowded; I remained therein until far into the night; and very often from three o'clock in the morning, persons were waiting for me at the door of my chamber. . . ." ¹⁶ Flaget returned to St. Thomas to rest for a few days in order to recuperate from his strenuous work. There he spent Advent and the Christmas season. His long absence had resulted in an accumulation of all sorts of problems, and there was a stack of letters awaiting his attention.

One of the most interesting of the letters was that of Simon William Bruté de Rémur informing his friends of his approaching trip to Europe. Bruté was perhaps the most steadfast friend of both Flaget and David. This warmhearted, loving man, soon destined to become first Bishop of Vincennes, became the confidant of practically every cleric in the country. He was, besides, one of the first scholars of the nation, and from his room, in the seclusion of Mt. St. Mary's, there went forth a tremendous volume of correspondence, almost equal to that of Jefferson. His friends who received these thousands of letters, written in Latin, French, and English, included not only priests and bishops, such as Cheverus of Boston and England of Charleston, but also Catholic laymen such as William Gaston of North Carolina and Matthew Carey of Philadelphia.

Bruté was born on March 20, 1779, in Brittany, and so was only a young lad during the extreme phases of the Revolution. In 1803 he finished his course in medicine, and having attracted national recognition by virtue of his first rank in a class of eleven hundred students, the attention of Emperor Napoleon was drawn to him. However, Dr. Bruté having decided not to practice medicine but

rather to follow a religious vocation, entered the Seminary of St. Sulpice in October of 1804, still then under the direction of Father Emery. On June 10, 1808, Bruté was ordained priest in the parish church of St. Sulpice, and immediately afterward joined that society. He went to Rennes as professor of theology in the diocesan seminary. The famous De Lamennais brothers were early numbered among his friends, and often during this time he was consulted by them on various subjects. In 1810, when Flaget went to Paris to refuse the episcopate, he met Bruté, and following several conversations the young priest decided to devote his life to the American missions. He sailed for America, June, 1810, in the company of Flaget, Chabrat, Anthony Deydier, Derigaud, and Romeuf. Soon afterward, he began to teach at St. Mary's Seminary. In 1812 he was transferred to the infant establishment of Father Dubois, Mt. St. Mary's at Emmitsburg, and late in 1814 he was appointed president of St. Mary's College of Baltimore. He then decided to go to Europe in its behalf the next year, and sailed with William Seton, the son of Mother Seton, on April 6, 1815, returning in November. In 1818 he resigned the presidency and went back to Emmitsburg where he remained until he was consecrated Bishop in 1834. The controversy between Dubois and Bruté and their confreres of Baltimore regarding the status of Mt. St. Mary's took place in 1818, and resulted in the complete separation of the two institutions, as St. Mary's Seminary could not bear the financial burden of the other institution, and a little later both Bruté and Dubois left the Society of St. Sulpice.

The correspondence between Flaget, David, and Bruté not only gives information concerning their daily life and work but also reveals intimately their minds, their emotions, and their spiritual life. David lived a more sedentary and settled existence than did Flaget, so that he could write oftener and enter into more detail than was possible for the Bishop. He could and did use reams of paper in answering Bruté's questions, in advising him on both spiritual and material problems, and even in attempting to admonish him regarding Bruté's lack of facility in the use of the English language. David would diplomatically state that he felt quite incapable of instructing Bruté as to the most proper

method to be followed concerning the matter in question, that Bruté was far more able than he in this direction, and then he would proceed to write three pages or so on whatever the circumstances warranted. He would say, "I do not want to refuse you. . . . I hope that the Divine Spirit will put me in the spirit that will be best suited to realize the designs of your zeal," in reply to Bruté's request for advice on the guidance of the Sisters of St. Joseph. David had had this position of spiritual advisor to the Sisters before Bruté, so the latter asked him for his methods of spiritual guidance. David told him that when souls came under his direction for the first time he would follow a definite pattern. He first examined "the state of their souls to find out if a general confession was necessary . . . if the state of their souls was bad or even doubtful. . . . I tried to have them make a general confession in such a manner so as to produce a lasting change. Then I would direct them to subject themselves to set exercises which would serve to continue and to perfect the purification of their souls. . . ." He advised regular confessions, insisting strongly that they should not miss a month, sometimes every two weeks was better, and there were those for whom even more frequent confessions were necessary. He thought that the penances ought to be medicinal in nature.

In 1811 David felt that "monthly communion is sufficient for those souls; it is not opportune that in the beginning it be more frequent, and one must resist a premature ardor which some evince to communicate often; this indicates that they do not perceive sufficiently the enormity of sin, and the depth of the wounds which it has inflicted upon their souls. . . ." David's advice on the reception of the Eucharist is not to be wondered at; frequent and daily Communion for the laity is a very modern practice, only specifically advocated since the time of Pius X.¹⁷ David did, however, advocate daily assistance at Holy Mass when domestic occupations allowed, regular visits to the Blessed Sacrament, and visiting the poor and sick. He frowned on "the theatre, balls, and novels," although he also knew that there were times when a parent, because of his position, ought to attend these functions. David had never been content, as were some mission-

aries, merely to draw souls from mortal sin, and to demand of them only that which was strictly necessary for salvation, but rather felt that it was his duty to take them on as far as possible toward perfection. Some souls required more careful cultivation, needed direction and encouragement, and he felt that a priest should go out of his way to render that care.

All his life David was admonishing Bruté about his use of English; for thirty years he struggled in vain with poor Bruté on this subject, and one might be amused in reading all this correspondence of these years to find the same refrain at the end as at the beginning. In one such complaint, David said:

Only, my good brother, I shall take the liberty to recommend to you one thing which I believe I have already intimated — Alas! — with too little charity. It is not to spend your time reading, studying, or writing; all these are very good in themselves and could be very useful, but they are now outside of the path which Providence marks out for you. The vividness of your imagination, your zeal, and the sensibility of your heart have caused you to pass in these pursuits precious moments which you could have employed to better advantage. To this I attribute in large part your lack of facility in speaking English. Had you persevered, like Mr. Chabrat, you would now speak and understand without any trouble. My good friend, pardon the freedom with which I say this to you. I feel that if a remonstrance this strong were made to me, I would find it hard to take; but I am filled with pride, and you are humble; so you will take it all in good part, since it comes from a heart that loves you tenderly.¹⁸

At another time David was writing, in some concern, that Bruté had made a wrong move, if among the Negro women whom he had disposed of there was included a Henrietta, whom David regarded as a precious soul. This Negress belonged to a Catholic mistress who not only did not perform her own religious duties but even restrained the slave in the practice of hers. This slave could read and spoke as distinctly as any white woman; David had given her a copy of his book *True Piety* and had watched over her spiritual progress.

Their communications were always deeply spiritual. One would never have to be told that these men were inspired in all their

lives and works by an abiding, great sense of love of God. That love and devotion ran as deep and as swiftly as the waters racing down the gorges of the Rolling Fork, but unlike the latter it never ran dry. These Frenchmen, nurtured in a culture that had been noted for its childlike faith, that had built great, stately cathedrals as an expression of this faith, were not being unnatural or artificial when they spoke of the Divine Love. Often David spoke of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in such terms as "I regard that retreat as the most fitting place for us to speak to each other . . . it is the furnace of love in which our hearts are formed and fused; it is there that we shall learn the language of the saints, which should be that of our letters . . . let us never leave, for those lovable Hearts inspire thought, form sentiments, and dictate the words which compose our epistles and on which they themselves place the seal." These were the letters of saints, and our wonder and admiration is not excited as to how these pioneer priests and bishops could be saints, but rather as to how these saints, considering the reputation saints have, could accomplish all the material things saints are not supposed to be able to do.

However, the letters Flaget, David, and Chabrat hurried back across the Alleghenies in response to the one in which Bruté announced his approaching trip to Europe in that spring of 1815 were concerned with practical, worldly affairs. All three asked Bruté to speak to the Sulpician Superior-General on behalf of the Kentucky seminary and repeated the arguments used with Tessier and his fellows. Flaget felt that he could even say that his seminary was superior to that of Baltimore and more Sulpician in character. He wanted Father Garnier to finish paying for him the remaining cost of the missals and breviaries he had purchased at a bookstore in Lyon, and to secure more pictures for his chapel. Finally, he wanted more priests, or at least seminarians, for "the French people in my diocese contain a population of more than fifteen thousand souls and for all these Catholics spread over an area of more than three thousand miles I have but three priests. . . ." Of these three Richard was being threatened by recall from Tessier, one was over sixty-six years of age, and the third was "so corpulent that he can hardly ride horseback without

difficulty." He tried to inflame the "zeal of some new Xaviers" by painting the picture of more than forty nations of Indians living in his diocese who knew nothing of Christianity. He told of his recent conversation with Governor William Clark concerning the thousands of savage nations living on the Missouri and Columbia Rivers. Finally, Flaget asked Bruté to tell his people he was still alive and well. Chabrat also asked Bruté to inform his parents of his situation and good health; to try to get them to inspire men to come to the Kentucky seminary; and to beg his well-to-do uncle to send some material aid to their poor diocese.

Bruté also carried letters of Flaget to Father Duclaux and Father Garnier pleading his cause. Maréchal had taken the narrow view that as the Kentucky students had to be trained in elementary Latin, it followed that their's was but a simple school and not a seminary. Flaget protested that Emery had never claimed that scholars would be found roaming the backwoods of Kentucky, that they would never be found there in this natural state, except as "one has educated them." There was followed at St. Thomas the same routine and the same rules as at Paris, claimed Flaget, and if there were deviations, all was done in the spirit of St. Sulpice. He observed that the number of students was no less than at St. Mary's in the beginning. Four students had received the tonsure the preceding year, and four more would receive it during the Lenten season. The growth of the seminary was retarded by the lack of development of vocations; the vocation to the ecclesiastical state was an absolutely new thing. Sometimes it was even necessary to teach students how to read. Flaget, analyzing the situation regarding vocations in Kentucky to his Parisian friends, said of it, "The considerable courses of study, the privation of all kinds which accompany our function, the very great difficulty of obtaining from the people a sufficient salary to keep us from want, are likewise obstacles which repel young people. Besides, their spirit of liberty and independence makes them look upon a seminary as a prison. And, as there are few countries in the world where it is easier to make money than America the children in general have a great deal more devo-

tion in praying to Mamon than to a God who died on a Cross stripped of everything. I hope however when I have the good fortune to ordain as priests three or four young natives that the seed of vocation will develop and that several pious parents, seeing the honor resulting for families in which there is a priest, will speak of it advantageously to their families and will thus prepare the path for the grace of this truly divine vocation.”¹⁹ Robert Abell was the first native Kentuckian to be ordained in the diocese. While Flaget was writing, another Frenchman, named Chanson, with whose family Chabrat had boarded in his college days, was on his way from Canada to join the seminarians at St. Thomas.

Even while Flaget was presenting his case to Paris, from Baltimore there came new worries. Bruté sent two boxes of vestments, but from Tessier came a demand for payment for the items taken to Bardstown from St. Mary's. David felt that his poor Bishop was already too burdened to be afflicted by his own people, and charged that Tessier was either losing his memory, or was incapable of thinking or acting for himself. Maréchal had not been in Baltimore when these things had been given to the missionaries, but was attempting to influence Tessier's opinions in demanding their return or payment for those given “to us as members of the company of one Sulpician seminary to another.” Tessier even wanted payment for the books “forgetting that it was decided in full assembly that we might take with us the books of which there were duplicates.” He wanted back the little Negro he had given them, though at the time the sole condition of the donor had been that he was never to be sold. He wanted payment for spoons, for vestments, for sacred vessels. In anxiety and sorrow David related how Tessier was pressing the Bishop to render an account for these, forgetting that Flaget had left behind him, on different occasions, much more valuable goods. David felt there was a misunderstanding about all this, but that “Monsignor” had already far too many problems in the cares of the vast diocese without this persecution from his own colleagues.²⁰

Another concern of David's in the same vein was the feeling

that some people in Baltimore were attempting to influence the young seminarians who went from St. Mary's Seminary to his own against him. The three latest additions, Gras, Chanson, and Millet, were evidences of it. Only the latter was deeply affected, but he would not even go to confession to David.²¹ When one of these soon after left the seminary, Flaget got him a teaching position at the University of Frankfort. The president there was a Catholic and a very good friend of Flaget's.²² These twin threats against David's position at St. Thomas worried Flaget sick all during this year, and he made plans to bring Richard to St. Thomas in the event of their success. Yet this would leave him with the considerable task of replacing Richard at Detroit.²³

The seminary was of great concern to Flaget, not because of a vague future dearth of priests but because of his own ever present need of them. The year before the ailing Father O'Flynn had retired from active work; he lived for two years with Captain Peter Wickham of Bardstown, and in 1816 returned to France. Father Nerinckx had built several churches since the Bishop's arrival in Kentucky and had attempted to anticipate needs in the western part of the state. He began to take up subscriptions for this, and although he encountered many difficulties, such as adverse criticism over the use of the funds, he continued in this work. Although concerned with these missions, with congregations near and far, he was becoming more and more involved in the growth of the Sisterhood of Loretto. As it grew more successful its needs expanded, and in 1814 Nerinckx decided to go to Europe to collect funds. Flaget gave him permission and promised to take care of his various missions and the nuns. Arriving in Baltimore, Nerinckx was discouraged from the trip because of the war, so after visiting the Archbishop and friends he returned. His Sisterhood was also increasing in membership; Monica Spalding, the first of that name to enter, was soon followed by Susan Hayden, who came all the way from Missouri, entering the novitiate on October 12, 1814, taking the name of Sister Mechtildes. The next year some of the parents of the vicinity became greatly alarmed when three of their young daughters asked for admission, for these were the first pupils of the Sisters to

take such a step. Ann Clarke, Esther Grundy, and Ann Wathen, together with Agnes Hart who had left the school sometime before, were received into the novitiate on the feast of the Assumption. Before this Father Nerinckx had been sarcastically praised by some malcontents for ridding the country of old maids, but now he was savagely blamed for exercising a hypnotic power over young minds, for taking away in the bloom of youth, marriageable, useful girls. The murmurs reached such a pitch that the Bishop had to take notice of them, delivering a long fervid sermon at St. Charles Church on the dignity of the religious life. He assured the parents that the girls were there of their own will and could leave whenever they so desired. By this time his influence was so well established that his word was enough to calm the gathering storm; opposition ceased and other daughters followed.

With the end of the war Nerinckx again asked for permission to go to Europe, and very reluctantly Flaget heeded his request. The Bishop asked Tessier to receive his priest at Baltimore as he would receive Flaget himself in order to make up to Nerinckx for the poor reception he had received eleven years before on his entry to Baltimore. He requested the same hospitality for his great horse, Printer, except that the horse need not be accepted at the table. He also asked Tessier to get him a pair of glasses, just like his except that "it be a little larger and oval in shape like Mr. Cliserous, if you remember it, which would be proper for the sight not of a nearsighted man but of a man whose sight at best is decreasing with years. The kind that Mr. Pasquoit has will suit me."²⁴ Father Nerinckx left Kentucky for Baltimore and Belgium in the fall, and for the next two years Bishop Flaget had to ride on his missions, attend all his congregations, and take over the supervision of the nuns of Loretto. The Bishop simply had no one else to do this work. He also attended to St. Charles, Holy Mary, and St. Bernard's in Casey County. About every three weeks he could return to the seminary.

Flaget took advantage of Nerinckx' trip to Europe to make him his personal representative to present to the Holy Father, Pius VII, the first report of his diocese. This famous document, dated April 10, 1815, has been called by that great authority on the history

of the Catholic Church in the United States, Peter Guilday, "one of the most remarkable papers we possess for this period . . . it shows how admirably Bishop Flaget visualized the conditions of Catholic life in every part of his jurisdiction."

He began by congratulating the Pontiff on the recovery of his freedom from the captivity of Napoleon, and gave a very short account of his consecration and entry into the bishopric of Bardstown. This, incidentally, gave rise to the historical question concerning the copies of the bulls of appointment and their exact time of arrival in America. He then describes the resources and extent of his diocese. It covered at this time the three states of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio, and the three great Territories of Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan, which were then much larger in extent than the present states of the same names. In Kentucky he had, in this year of 1815, ten priests, six subdeacons, four in minor orders, and six who had received the tonsure. The priests were Badin, Nerinckx, Peter Schaeffer, and the infirm Capuchin, O'Flynn; four Dominicans, Samuel T. Wilson, William R. Tuite, Robert Angier, and Edward D. Fenwick; the Sulpicians, John B. M. David, and Guy I. Chabrat. Two of the Dominicans were kept constantly engaged at St. Rose, so were not used outside its walls. Fenwick was already interested in Ohio's needs. Five of the six subdeacons were also sons of St. Dominic — Richard P. Miles, who was to become the first Bishop of Tennessee; Nicholas D. Young, Fenwick's nephew; William T. Willett; Samuel L. and Stephen H. Montgomery. The other subdeacon was Derigaud. Tennessee, Ohio, and the Indiana Territory did not have a resident priest, but were visited once or twice a year by priests from outside. There were two priests in the Territory of Illinois; one was Donatien Olivier, "very much enfeebled by his years," and the other was Francis Savine, who must have been the priest described by Flaget as "corpulent." On the other side of the Mississippi River, in Upper Louisiana, there was one priest, the Trappist, Father Dunand. Because of their proximity to his own diocese, Flaget was concerned with those parishes across the river until DuBourg could take over their charge. In the Territory of Michigan he had one priest, the Sulpician, Gabriel Richard.

Bishop Flaget tried to make an estimate for the Holy Father of the Catholic population under his charge. He stated that this was very difficult to do because of continual emigration. However, he thought there were not less than 10,000 Catholic souls in Kentucky. In Tennessee there were about 25 Catholic families. In Ohio he had discovered some 50 Catholic families, but had heard that there were many others scattered throughout the state. However, many of these were losing the Faith as they lacked completely the ministrations of a priest. In Indiana, at Post Vincennes, in the parish of St. Francis Xavier, there were some 130 Catholic families. In the three parishes of Illinois there were about 120 families, mostly French. In the six parishes belonging to the diocese of New Orleans across the river he gives no estimate of total population, but notes that he confirmed 1200 persons from among them. In the Territory of Michigan was St. Ann's parish at Detroit, with an estimated 1500 souls, and St. Anthony of Padua parish on the Raisin River, with almost 500 souls. Besides these "I heard of four French congregations settled in the midst of the Indians, who belong to my diocese, one on the upper part of the Mississippi [probably Prairie du Chien], one in the place commonly called Chicago, another on the shore of Lake Michigan [Green Bay, Wisconsin?], a fourth near the head of the Illinois River" [?].

Flaget reported that nineteen churches existed in Kentucky, five of brick (three of those not yet completed), and the others, "according to the custom of this forest region, constructed of wood." Seven of these, Flaget told the Pontiff, had been the work of the Reverend bearer of his report.

The institutions of the diocese were three in number. They consisted of the seminary and the two Sisterhoods, founded for the religious education of girls. The community of Loretto had twelve members at the time of the Report, and the other community had ten. He asked Pius VII not to take away from his side the superior of the seminary, and to speed the return of the superior of Loretto.

He tried to describe the financial situation of the diocese, and "asked the opinion and direction" of the Holy Father concerning

the dispute with Father Badin. He noted that Badin had, before his (Flaget's) arrival, listed the episcopal property as 364 acres of land some four miles from Bardstown, i.e., St. Thomas; another 100 acres of land; and another 37 acres near town. He pointed out that Badin had agreed before the Archbishop to transfer this property to him, that Badin had given him a deed purporting to do this, but had actually given him only half the property, and this half was not that which included his own residence and the seminary. The Bishop had not examined the deed so was unaware of this chicanery until Badin began to chuckle about his action before others. Flaget placed his dilemma concerning Badin before Cardinal di Pietro and Pius VII. As Canon Law was not clear on the point, there seemed no absolute rule to follow.

Flaget finished this Report with a brief reference to the Indian nations and the need of missionaries for work among them. He congratulated the Holy Father on the restoration of the Jesuits, that "noted and to me specially dear Order," and finally suggested that he hoped to see from their ranks men who would once again bring the faith to the Indians of his diocese.²⁵

Seven

ON DECEMBER 3, 1815, the Patriarch of the American Church, Archbishop John Carroll, passed to his well-merited eternal reward, dying in his eighty-first year. For twenty-five years he had been chief shepherd in the United States, and with his death there ended an era in our history. Those last weeks of November, as he realized that death was but a matter of days, were a time to balance the books. Although few of his successors have added as much luster as he to the position he occupied, Carroll had his failures as well as his triumphs. But certainly few of his contemporaries could have done better in meeting the conditions which he faced, and most would have done far worse. His first four successors were far inferior in every respect. The handicaps under which Carroll labored were varied and had their origins in Rome as well as in this country. One of the most critical periods in the history of the papacy took place during Carroll's episcopate.

It began at the same time as the great Revolution, from whose political effects France has never recovered. As the French armies moved across Europe they engulfed the Roman states, and eventually forced the aged Pope, Pius VI, into exile and death. The conclave which followed was held where most of the cardinals were at the time gathered, in Austria. The choice of the cardinals fell upon Cardinal Chiaramonti, and the newly elected Pope took the name of his predecessor, becoming Pius VII, on March 14, 1800. Of a noble Italian family, he had turned from the lure of the world at the age of sixteen to enter a Benedictine monastery. He was made a professor of Philosophy, Theology, and Canon Law, and

finally abbot. Pius VI promoted him to the episcopacy and in 1785 created him a cardinal. When the various governments of France, culminating in that of Napoleon, began their persecution of the Catholic religion in France and in Europe, Cardinal Chiaramonti witnessed more than once the carnage and fury of their armies. During his pontificate of almost a quarter of a century he experienced great tribulations and revealed all the traits required of a supreme pontiff. His suffering, his valor, his resignation and piety inspired all who encountered them. He tried to conciliate Napoleon for the sake of the faithful in France, but finally accepted ignominy and captivity when he reached the point beyond which he could conciliate no more. One likes his gesture of breaking the Fisherman's Ring before handing it over to his rapacious captors, for it showed his indomitable will. His gentleness of spirit captivated even his enemies; no rancor ever marred his dealing with them. He made the famous Concordat with Napoleon, and was fooled, but so was President James Madison; he was persuaded to attend the coronation of the Emperor and was humiliated there; like Clement he refused to dissolve a valid marriage to suit the imperial will. He had to deal with the vast seizures of ecclesiastical lands in Germany, the anticlericalism in Spain, the Veto Question in Ireland with its repercussions in England. Perhaps his greatest glory was his Secretary of State, one of the foremost diplomats of the Church, the famous Cardinal Consalvi. One has only to look at either the portrait of Pius drawn by Jacques-Louis David or at that by Sir Thomas Lawrence to feel the magnetism of the man; they reveal the striking features, they show why this Father of Christendom was well beloved. Pius VII was imprisoned by the tyrant of Europe in 1808 and was not freed from this yoke until 1814, while Cardinal di Pietro, Prefect of Propaganda, under whose jurisdiction was the Church of the United States, also was in captivity.¹

The European wars were also a source of trouble to the Church of the United States. Many times documents and letters, even made in triplicate, failed to reach their destination. In those years Carroll began to feel that he had fallen out of the favor of Rome, and an unfortunate silence between Rome and Baltimore took

place. The American bishops had requested that proposals for filling the American sees be left in their hands, and the failure of Rome to reply to this had a painful effect. The sees of Philadelphia and New York remained vacant for some time and then were filled by Europeans. Dr. John Connolly, a Dominican, was even appointed to the see of New York at a time when his country, England, was at war with the United States. While this action was certainly not tactful, Archbishop Carroll was too slow in nominating prospective incumbents. As Rome had not yet given the American bishops rights of nomination, Cheverus had opposed calling the Council of 1812 because he felt the long trip from Boston was not worth while. He left the question of any proposals for the vacant sees up to Carroll, but when the latter tried to put David in Philadelphia he met the unalterable opposition of Flaget who practically accused him of breaking faith with him over the nomination. This unhappy state of affairs regarding the vacant sees and the lack of an understanding with Rome over episcopal appointments was the most glaring failure of Carroll's episcopate; the difficulties caused by the pride-ridden priests, Dr. Simon Felix Gallagher and Father Robert Browne of Charleston, the Harolds of Philadelphia, and Father Anthony Sedella of New Orleans made Father Badin's failings slight indeed; and finally the trustee scandals were to bring the third element of the Church, the laity, into the unsettled situation.

On the other hand, the great progress of the Church in America under Carroll had outweighed the apparent failures. His once vast diocese was now divided into six — Baltimore, Bardstown, Boston, New Orleans, New York, and Philadelphia. The number of priests had multiplied considerably — from thirty-five to ninety-two east of the Mississippi — and the Catholic population had increased threefold, while religious orders, seminaries, and convents were established firmly. Coadjutor Bishop Leonard Neale, upon whom Carroll's mantle now fell, was scarcely the man for the position; he had not taken any active part in administration, but had lived more or less in scholastic retirement; Carroll had once said of him that he was not especially known for his literary accomplishments, nor had he "set the Potomac on fire"

with other abilities, but he was to remain Metropolitan only a year and a half as he died June 18, 1817.²

Ambrose Maréchal who then became the third Archbishop of Baltimore was one of the French Sulpician émigrés who had come to this country in 1792, the year of Flaget's arrival. Ambrose was born in Orleans, France, on December 5, 1768. He took courses in law before finishing those in theology; he was ordained priest shortly before his arrival in the United States. The faithful of Philadelphia were the first to profit from his ministry, but the missions of Maryland were to have a longer period to experience his zeal. He then taught at Georgetown College and St. Mary's Seminary. "He was an excellent teacher, well versed in philosophy, mathematics, history, literature, and theology."³ Bishop Concanen wished to obtain him as his coadjutor, and Carroll also hoped to see him in the see of New York. After Cheverus turned down the coadjutorship of Baltimore, Carroll turned to Maréchal. As Carroll had expressed a preference for Maréchal to Rome his wish was respected there and Neale consecrated him coadjutor with right of succession to the see of Baltimore.

On learning of Carroll's death, Flaget wrote in his *Journal*, "This holy man has run a glorious career; he was gifted with a wisdom and prudence which made everyone esteem and love him. . . ." He soon followed this with a letter to the new Archbishop, Neale, lamenting the death of Carroll. In this he adverted to the problem of a coadjutor to Neale, which he felt was very necessary considering the Archbishop's advanced years and many infirmities. Flaget's choice for this office was Bishop Cheverus of Boston, but he feared that it might be contrary to the canons of the Church to remove him from a see wherein he was actually exercising his episcopal jurisdiction, in order to place him in a coadjutorship. He told Neale that he would abide by his choice of the two proposed, but that "to determine whether the Rev. Mr. Maréchal is the proper man is, in my situation with him, a point extremely delicate. Leaving aside, however, all kinds of human considerations, I believe with you that he is as well qualified as any other in the United States for this high dignity."⁴

Later, Flaget was to express himself a little more forcibly to

his friend, Bruté, on the subject, while admitting that he was being indiscreet in so doing. Although the further anxieties thrust upon him by his confreres of Baltimore may have caused him to put down in black and white his sentiments, there is no reason to believe anything else but that he was expressing a considered, unhurried, deliberate, and sincere conviction. Said Flaget, "Between ourselves let it be said I dread Maréchal as Bishop, but a hundred times more as Archbishop. This very talented and good man does not have the tact for government that such a high dignity requires. He has eccentricities of mind and these fancies become for him literally infallibilities. I wish I were wrong."⁵ In the light of the above it is amusing to note Maréchal's own anguish over his appointment; he had successfully evaded the episcopacy when proposed for New York and Philadelphia. He seemed to feel that the Kentuckians were partly responsible for his elevation, because David wrote Bruté, "Dear Mr. Maréchal is very much mistaken in being persuaded that Monsignor, you, and I have contributed to his nomination. He has expressed himself about it in two letters to Msgr. in the most excessively emphatic terms, which Msgr. found a bit harsh. I do not believe that Msgr. said a word to M. DuBourg. I remember well in my anxiety having expressed the fear of a similar burden. O, why should they not nominate Mr. Maréchal, who ought to be Bishop of New York. . . ."⁶ There had been some talk that DuBourg might be made coadjutor, but Flaget felt that this was not in keeping with the former's character and personality.

DuBourg had had a sad three years as administrator of the diocese of New Orleans. During this time, from 1812 to 1815, he kept up a steady, frank correspondence with Flaget and the friendship of the two men increased. Finally DuBourg decided on a trip to Rome in order to seek relief from his burden; either he would obtain there more priests or resign. He told Flaget that he was going to propose the division of the see of New Orleans, with the suggestion that the upper part of it be placed under Flaget's jurisdiction. This letter Flaget endorsed with the words "Cela me paroît tres a propos." While in St. Louis on his confirmation tour, Flaget had written DuBourg of the possibilities

of his removal to that city, if a suitable bishop could be found to take his place in Kentucky. Flaget indicated that he thought one could be found among the Dominicans; DuBourg felt that from the tenor of Flaget's letters the latter thought a Frenchman was desirable for St. Louis and an American for Kentucky. By April of 1815 he was talking to Flaget about "your plan" for the erection of a bishopric in Upper Louisiana.

After presenting in person to the Holy See his report on conditions in New Orleans, he submitted his resignation as administrator. Pius VII, however, felt the see ought to be filled and insisted that DuBourg accept the responsibility, so he was consecrated in Rome on September 24, 1815, by Cardinal Joseph Doria as the third Bishop of New Orleans. Bishop DuBourg then discussed the American problems with various Roman officials. That these conversations bore fruit is evident from the fact that the new Prefect of the Propaganda, Cardinal Litta, wrote to the Archbishop of Baltimore for his opinion on the transfer of Flaget to St. Louis. DuBourg had also suggested Gallitzin for Flaget's place in Kentucky. Cardinal Litta stated that Flaget "is in great fame of sanctity" and was most suited for the conversion of the Indians.⁷ Bishop DuBourg wrote from Rome to Flaget that soon a new archbishopric in the West would be created, with St. Louis as its seat. At first Flaget seemed content with the idea, but it was not long before he manifested uneasiness. Neale asked his opinion about this inquiry from the Cardinal Prefect. In his reply Flaget stated that the erection of a new see at St. Louis was of utmost importance for the good of religion, especially for the conversion of the Indian nations. He felt that the presence of a bishop would not only inspire with renewed piety the people already there, but would also encourage others to emigrate to St. Louis. But he had come to the conclusion that his transfer would not be to the best interest of the Faith, for the new diocese would gain very little by this move, while Kentucky would be gravely threatened. Flaget feared that all his newly established religious institutions would be ruined and that the building of the Cathedral would be halted. Believing that all his priests would follow him to St. Louis; that "on account of the great esteem

and affection which both Catholics and Protestants entertain for them" religion would suffer by a change, he proposed rather the appointment of a Jesuit for St. Louis, accompanied by at least six clerical companions.

Bishop Flaget always leaned toward the appointment of bishops from religious orders, if they were working in the contemplated diocese, as he felt they could more easily obtain men. He insisted always that a bishop by himself was of no value. "He will work as a zealous missionary, but he will do nothing as a Bishop." He felt that as the Jesuits had worked in this region for a long time their name was yet in the greatest veneration. Finally, he predicted that in less than twenty years St. Louis would be the most flourishing diocese in the United States if a proper bishop, accompanied by several priests, were sent there.⁸ On August 8, 1816, he noted in his *Journal* that he had received definite word from DuBourg that he would not be removed from Kentucky to any new see.

Nerinckx had not as yet returned from his grand collection tour of Belgium so Bishop Flaget was still burdened with the former's missions and the direction of the Sisters of Loretto. He took the responsibility of sending the Sisters outside the house of Loretto to establish their first branch. On June 10, 1816, under Sister Christina Stuart, they opened a school at Holy Mary's and gave it the name of Calvary. Prior to this, Flaget had attempted to set up at this house a widow's home, with some religious observances, but as this was not successful the house was given to the nuns.

At Nazareth there was also progress. With the aid of the seminarians and neighbors a fine brick convent had been started as well as a frame chapel; it was a material mark of advancement. There were several other interior signs. They had finally adopted as their permanent rule that of the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent, which they had received from the Emmitsburg community although Flaget had made some modifications in it. They also adopted a regular uniform, a black habit, cape, apron, and cap. On February 2, feast of the Purification, Mother Catherine, Sister Teresa Carrico, Sister Harriet Gardiner, and Sister Mary

Beaven took their first simple vows. On the feast of the Annunciation another group followed, and on the feast of the Assumption the profession of a third group occurred. Their school had come "into such vogue that they have so many scholars that they can't lodge them. They actually have 31 in it. There are 14 Sisters. . . . I am going also to make several additions to the house of the Sisters," wrote David.⁹ The previous December, Harriet Suttle had joined their ranks, taking the name of Sister Elizabeth. Ann Spalding, Mother Catherine's sister, and Mildred Stuart also came in about this time. They held their second election that year, and because of her eminent talents Mother Catherine was retained as Superior; Sister Harriet Gardiner also remained in her office of Assistant Mother; while Sister Ellen O'Connell was made treasurer; and Sister Agnes Higdon, procuratrix. Sister Teresa Carrico, the foundation stone of the society, always preferred to remain in the background. For some forty-six years she was content to assume the most lowly place, to work in the kitchen. "Her cheerful disposition, her piety, her simplicity, her disregard of toil; the earnestness with which she sought at all times to conserve the interests of the society; her clear, practical mind and exact observance of every rule—these were the virtues in which she excelled. . . ." David expressed his great pleasure repeatedly over such signal successes as the Sisters were so early enjoying.

His other obligation to Nerinckx, the missions, got the Bishop this same year into a situation which he would have preferred to escape. It was the only time recorded that Flaget ever got into a public controversy with a Protestant minister. A preacher by name of Tapscott was both aggressive and insulting, and the Bishop felt his challenge needed to be met. He agreed to a public debate to be held in a private home in the district, but such a crowd assembled that the affair had to be held in the open. Flaget began the discussion by an address on the civil and religious principles of Catholics, in order to answer the charge already made by the preacher. At the conclusion he offered to answer any objections or reply to questions. Tapscott then attempted to evade his part by calling on the Bishop to explain the doctrine of the Real Presence and other questions, so the

audience continued listening to the Catholic side of the question. At the end of this second discourse the preacher accused Flaget of misquoting the Scripture, but was refuted by an immediate reference to the text. From this point the denouement rapidly approached. Tapscott then stated that the other had really begun the whole affair, and that Flaget should now prove that the Catholic was the oldest church. As the Bishop had been speaking for several hours while the preacher had only posed questions the former felt that Tapscott should now take the stand. However, his opponent already had enough and not only refused to speak but even rejected the outstretched hand of the prelate. Bishop Flaget then closed the debate by a short sermon on peace and charity. So finished another one of those forensic incidents that were always the delight of our pioneer fathers. To engage in such a controversy before the Kentucky Americans had somewhat wearied the French-speaking Bishop, so he was heartfelt in his thanksgiving to God on the successful conclusion of the event.¹⁰

The long absences of Flaget on these missionary trips were rewarded each time he returned home by the sight of the material development, equal to that of the Sisterhoods, which was taking place at the seminary, and generally in his diocese. The completion of the brick chapel, sixty-five by thirty feet, and the beginning of the seminary building at St. Thomas took place in this year. The foundation for the latter was not put in until September 1, but, because visitors were expected, the building was rushed so that it might be finished by the end of November. The new building was to be thirty feet square. The basement was to house the refectory, fruit cellar, and other utility rooms. The ground floor had two rooms, one for study, and "a room of exercises." Above were to be enough sleeping rooms even to take care of the large group of European visitors that were expected at any time.

Twelve seminarians, seven of them Kentucky born, were keeping Father David, and occasionally Father Chabrat, well engaged in a professional role. Besides these, seven workmen were lodged on the grounds.¹¹ Not all the seminarians regarded their existence as idyllic; both Flaget and David worried over the baneful influ-

ence of two young Frenchmen who had but recently joined them; both these young men were highly critical; the one, Grandchamp, told Badin that "they may want to find a seminary, but they won't find anything here but a hole." "*Voila*," exclaimed David in chagrin, "the recognition that we receive for our trouble." So anxious was David to get rid of him that he equipped Grandchamp with a horse, saddle, bridle, and saddlebag for his return to Baltimore. He took his note and asked Tessier to receive the payment of it, warning him that should the boy ask to be received in the seminary there he would find him of "very little capacity, very thick headed and of very ordinary virtue." The other, a Mr. Millet, Flaget found so changeable he greatly repented having given him the tonsure, and wished that he had the money for the expense of his trip back to Baltimore. However, so badly did he need the priests that three months later he was talking about the great change "in our dear Millet" whom he thought he might ordain to the subdiaconate. Millet remained and was soon to cause greater perplexity and annoyance. Another, Ganihl, who had come in 1815 to St. Thomas, made some remarks that caused the Bishop to write back to his native diocese in Europe for information about his past. These were, of course, only incidents that are repeated practically each year in every seminary right down to the present, but they show the variety of trials undergone at St. Thomas. Naturally, there were golden moments. The seminary chapel was hardly more than opened for worship before it was the scene of an ordination ceremony. In the September Ember Days Flaget raised to the priesthood the four Dominican deacons; and on September 17 one of these, Richard P. Miles, the future first Bishop of Nashville, preached his first sermon in Flaget's presence, in the parish where he was born. "He greatly pleased his hearers, because of his pronounciation which was much more natural for them than that of Frenchmen," observed the Bishop.¹² Flaget noted, however, that these young Dominicans would not be as useful to his diocese as those from his own seminary since they would remain to teach in the Dominican college.

But even before these ordinations one of the great moments

in the Bishop's career had arrived. For five years he had dreamed of his Cathedral at Bardstown, and at last it seemed the reality would soon be at hand. On June 11, he, David, and the architect carefully staked out the dimensions, and immediately after this workmen began excavating the stones which were to serve as the foundation. Flaget felt that it would be against the orders of Providence to delay longer, for although only eight Catholics within the town itself had subscribed to the building funds, nevertheless, the town had raised to this time more than "five thousand gourdes."¹³ He managed to raise eventually about \$15,000 but was assured it would take at least \$20,000 to finish the edifice. He therefore wrote to his friends in Baltimore and to the Bishop of Quebec for more financial assistance. From both quarters he met with disappointment. Baltimore was still in financial straits from the effects of the war conditions, and both Bishop Plessis of Quebec and Father Richard of Detroit were building churches. Flaget asked his friends to "pray to God that I, myself, may be the corner stone and the holiest ornament of the cathedral, the first in this vast territory and which will serve as a model for those which someday will follow."¹⁴

The site on which the Cathedral was to stand was costing him 700 "gourdes," but the grounds embraced some five acres. He was still trying to get Maximillian Godefroy, a lay professor at St. Mary's Seminary who taught design there, to send some plans, as he was not satisfied with what he had.¹⁵ On the feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, July 16, he blessed the cornerstone in the presence of a considerable crowd. Some eighteen clerics in surplices, among whom were the Dominicans, preceded the Bishop in a solemn procession to the site. David then explained the ceremony especially for the Protestants. Following this, staff in hand, adorned with cope and miter, the Bishop blessed the stone. Complete silence prevailed during the whole course of this long ceremony. At the end of this he himself mounted the platform to thank those who had contributed toward the building and to encourage the rest to do the same. "After which . . . I gave the solemn benediction to this immense gathering more Protestant than Catholic and all received it with demonstrations

of piety and gratitude," stated Flaget.¹⁶ Father David was pleased to find that the Bardstown *Gazette* noticed very favorably the event and that it referred especially to the paternal affection of the Bishop. Describing the affair David said that "the ceremony . . . was followed by a most pathetic one [discourse] given by Monsignor himself. His words of gratitude, of exhortation, and of hope and confidence seemed to touch every listener . . . and with reverent air they received the solemn benediction which he bestowed. . . ." The direction of the building was put under a committee of six, three Catholics and three non-Catholics.¹⁷ It was to be three more years before it was completed, but Flaget could go about his various tasks and journeys content in the knowledge that a cathedral was rising in the wilderness, a cathedral that was to be the first west of the Allegheny Mountains, and the mother of Western cathedrals.

The continuation of his difficulties with his Sulpician brethren disturbed his tranquillity and aroused the intense ire of David, but all clouds were dispelled whenever either had occasion to ride past Bardstown to oversee the new building. Nevertheless, a new threat, added to the older one, tried them sorely. The recall of Chabrat, instigated by Maréchal, so the Kentuckians believed, was now added to the other demands. "If he is a Sulpician, let him submit to my orders. If he prefers to obey you let him stay with you and stop calling himself a Sulpician," wrote Tessier to the shocked Flaget. And the rounds started all over again. Poor Bishop Flaget remonstrated strongly. "If Mr. Tessier annoys me for six months more as he has been doing for more than a year, I shall either lose my life or my reason." Flaget on his part ordered Chabrat to remain with him and after various attempts to reach an agreement with Baltimore sent this issue also on "to the court of Duclaux." He pointed out that when Chabrat was accepted into the Sulpicians at Paris it was known his vocation was to be directed toward the missions of Kentucky, that he had formally adopted that diocese on his ordination as subdeacon, and that when he became Flaget's "first son in Christ," he had sworn obedience to this Bishop. The Bishop felt he had real rights to this priest and wanted them respected, and he also knew that

Chabrat could follow his vocation as well in Kentucky as in Baltimore. Flaget sent his detailed protest to Tessier via Bruté because he had reason to believe that all the deliberations over these affairs were taking place solely between Tessier, Maréchal, and Harent, but he wanted all his confreres aware of his side of the dispute, and he also wished to request a general assembly on these important matters. He maintained that, after all, this whole episode was undoubtedly simply "the machination of the Devil who is very angry at Chabrat in particular, and in general against all our doings in Kentucky."¹⁸ David summed up his reactions with the words "they seem to have their hearts set upon grieving our poor bishop; one has to say that they are waging a very cruel war upon him. . . . Has anyone ever before treated a bishop in this manner?"¹⁹

Chabrat himself thought he knew where the devil was in this woodpile. He angrily claimed that Maréchal was "another Mr. Badin in Baltimore." He noted that not only was he assisting David in the seminary but was also responsible for some four thousand souls, who would be left without a priest if he were moved. He ardently exclaimed that if there were anyone to take his place he would immediately run to the stable, saddle his horse, and ride to Baltimore without a moment's delay. All three of these men agreed in their different letters that neither Olier nor Emery, the former Sulpician superiors, would ever have written such letters or given such pre-emptory orders. They all pointed to the necessity of Kentucky, and to the fact that their seminary was, in reality, as much a seminary as that of Baltimore, and truly more in the spirit of St. Sulpice. One familiar with the history of the Baltimore foundation can readily see that the Kentuckians had a point. Chabrat placed himself in the hands of David and Flaget and they, after mature consideration, decided he could in conscience remain with them. He and David both certainly had much more justification for that than did the saintly Bruté when that worthy walked out of his position in Baltimore without permission in order to go over to Emmitsburg to aid Dubois.

Through all this controversy one can only view with complete

*The Cathedral
at Bardstown,
as it appears
today.*



amazement the blithe, simple attitude of Tessier. He ignores all their arguments, makes no attempt to answer them, but keeps repeating his simple orders of recall. How the Kentuckians must have boiled, or else collapsed in utter chagrin when he complacently told one, "I beg you to take care of your strength and your health so that you can be useful to the company when you will be called back to the seminary. . . . But in any case always remain in the disposition to return. Don't lose the love of a life of retreat and study, of a life regular and apart like that practiced in all our seminaries. The life that you follow at present is surely very useful and very meritorious, but you could still be more useful in a seminary, there forming a number of fervent missionaries. Therefore, you should look forward to your return into the seminary. . . ." ²⁰ This after all their fervid letters of protest. But, at the beginning of the following year Flaget related to Bruté that he had at last received the judgment of Father Duclaux, Superior-General of the Sulpicians in Paris, who had written directly to David. Duclaux had approved of their actions in not giving in to the demands of Tessier, and he awaited only the moment "when he will know that I shall be irrevocably established to add my seminary to that of the company." He not only approved the rule established at St. Thomas even though it differed from the rule of other seminaries, but he also promised to regard as Sulpicians all those who were received as such by Flaget and David. Flaget felt that Duclaux' unqualified approval proved that Tessier and "his consul" had treated him too harshly in attempting to take measures that would have ruined his diocese. Finally, he asked Bruté to convey to both Tessier and Maréchal his regrets if he had used expressions that might have been too strong or unfounded. He admitted that he had probably made mistakes, but even in defending a good cause one could do that. "And as I am very far from being a St. Francis de Sales they will be less surprised at the wanderings of my imagination and they will sincerely pardon me because of the integrity of my heart and the purity of my intentions," concluded Flaget. ²¹

The worry about this situation was, however, pushed into the background by an exciting event which expanded itself over a

period of several months. A group of European clerics arrived at St. Thomas on November 22, 1816, and their visit extended to the time of the reception of the brief appointing David Coadjutor Bishop of Bardstown. The excitement of the occasion and the engrossing activities which followed the sojourn of these men made the Bardstown group forget their worries over Tessier's threatened recalls. The visitors were also able to share in the jubilation of the triumph of the nomination, the news of which reached Kentucky in the early fall of 1817.

Bishop DuBourg had been very busy during his months in Europe. Besides collecting a large sum of money he also managed to engage a number of men to return with him to Louisiana. He met Father Felix de Andreis in Rome and was so impressed by his sanctity, learning, and zeal that he requested the Superior of the Priests of the Congregation of the Mission to release him for his diocese. The Superior was unwilling to relinquish such a valuable member, so Bishop DuBourg applied to Cardinal Consalvi and Pope Pius for aid in persuading him. Upon the request of the Pope the Superior gave up his opposition. Father De Andreis then asked his friend and student, Father Joseph Rosati, as well as Father John Acquaroni to accompany him. These two were of the same society as De Andreis. Father Joseph Caretti and Father Anthony Ferrari, secular priests of Port Maurice; four young seminarians, Leo Deys, Casto Gonzalez, Joseph Tichitoli, and Francis Dahmen; a Vincentian lay Brother, Martin Blanka; and two other laymen were also recruited by DuBourg. This group left Bordeaux on June 12, 1816, and after a dangerous voyage arrived in Baltimore July 25. They were taken in by the Sulpicians, and Father De Andreis, following the instructions of Bishop DuBourg, wrote at once to Bishop Flaget. Flaget's answer came toward the end of August, advising them to leave for Bardstown at once. They set out in two groups, one leaving on September 3, the other September 10, and arrived after many hardships in Pittsburgh on September 19. They left there on October 27 arriving in Louisville November 19.

At first David was somewhat concerned about the effect that the strangers might produce in his seminary; he feared that they

might cause his own seminarians to be discontented or else to be disgusted with the Europeans. He worried lest these men, well intentioned though they might be, might not like to abide by their rules or customs. At the time he had just passed through a brief period during which the new French boys had caused trouble. He, however, did not know yet the spirit of the Vincentians, who had kept a strict routine of prayer and spiritual discipline all the way across the mountains. Of course, David was also worried about lodging them, as the new building was not yet completed. Flaget went to Louisville to meet the travelers, although unknown to him they had not yet left Pittsburgh. After waiting for several days in vain he returned to St. Thomas and then set out on a short inspection of some Kentucky parishes which he had not lately visited, coming back to St. Thomas on November 26, a few days after the Vincentians' arrival. Meanwhile, after two or three days' delay in Louisville because of the weather, Father De Andreis, with Gonzalez, set out for Bardstown. They were met on the way by Chabrat, who guided them to the seminary. David was immediately captivated by them, and in a short time discovered that his seminary was the better for the presence of the strangers, while, on his part, Father De Andreis soon found in this place every satisfaction his sensitive soul desired.

When the Bishop returned he told De Andreis that the Italian clerics must remain at the seminary for a time as the weather would not permit their travel; too, Bishop DuBourg had requested him to go first to St. Louis to prepare the people for their coming. Flaget also felt that the winter could be spent most profitably by the missionaries learning the English tongue, for he thought they would make a much better impression at St. Louis if they had a decent command of the language. On the eve of their departure for America they had been informed by DuBourg of a change in plans. Up to then they had been learning French. Just before sailing he informed these Italians that instead of going to New Orleans they would go to St. Louis, where a knowledge of English would be necessary. It seems that while still in Europe DuBourg had heard that he might expect trouble in New Orleans, so the erratic, changeable, and fearful Bishop petitioned the Holy

See to allow him to establish his see temporarily at St. Louis. While his first group of missionaries were on the way to America he remained behind to try to obtain more aid in men and money from the French. He managed to gather an even larger group of ecclesiastics to follow him to America. However, this took so long that he drew a rebuke from Rôme for delaying to repair to his diocese. Rome seemed to have misunderstood the motives of the enthusiastic prelate's sojourn in France, evidently fearing that he was more enamored of that country than of his own diocese. However, the pained Bishop explained his delay satisfactorily to the inquiring cardinal. Then, DuBourg wrote to Flaget requesting him to go to St. Louis to prepare the people for the event and to ask them to agree to some sort of arrangement for his livelihood. So, at the beginning of the year, practically ten months before DuBourg's first contingent arrived in America, Flaget had set in operation this project by sending a circular letter to all the people and parishes of Upper Louisiana.

He informed them that they were about to receive a resident bishop under the condition that he be received with due honor and that a fund be given him for the upkeep of a seminary. He advised that every parish have a meeting and elect a delegate to meet in St. Louis to deliberate on an annual income for the bishop and the method of securing it as well as on a house, furniture, and servants for him. They were also to consider the possibility of a seminary building or else the acquisition of lands which would furnish at a future date funds for educating priests. Other items for their agenda should include a consideration of funds for the expenses of the Bishop's trip to St. Louis and for his pontifical vestments. They might also discuss the location of the episcopal see. The minutes of their meeting should be submitted to Flaget and DuBourg, who would then make a recommendation to the Roman Curia. Flaget pointed out to them the spiritual and temporal advantages that the location of the see would bring to the area which would repay for the temporary sacrifices made at this time. He warned them, however, that he would oppose the selection of St. Louis as the see if it were true that a theater had been opened there as he had heard. He ordered the recitation

of prayers to the Holy Ghost at certain times, and admonished all the people "to bewail their sins, to purify their consciences, that they may by fervent and persevering prayers, obtain a holy Bishop, who is consumed by the zeal for God's glory and the salvation of souls."²²

After Bishop Flaget's return he decided to bring all the Italian missionaries then in Louisville out to St. Thomas at once. It took a few days to arrange for the transportation of their effects, and to hire horses for the two-day journey to Bardstown. On December 2, the first Sunday in Advent, the Catholics of Louisville attended a solemn Mass celebrated by Father Acquaroni, and a short time later the entire band was at St. Thomas, where they were to remain that winter. A few slept in the seminary building, some were boarded out with neighboring Catholic families so that they would be forced to converse in English, and Badin took two in with him. On December 8, Father Rosati celebrated the solemn Mass and David spoke on "The Marks of the Church." The following day the foreigners began in earnest to train for their coming mission. De Andreis took over the course in theology, teaching his own four seminarians along with those of St. Thomas, while David was thus given the time to devote himself to an intensive course of English for the Italians. Rosati had been discouraged over his lack of facility in grasping the tongue, but under the expert guidance of David his courage rapidly revived, and his progress was so marked that in March he was preaching to the Sisters and by April he was able to hear confessions in English. The Vincentian priests were soon performing functions in the nearby parishes and relieved Flaget of the chaplaincy of the Sisters. They also translated their sermons into English for the criticism of their teacher, David. Acquaroni missed the first month of the English courses, and it was impossible for him to make it up. He had a poor memory, but David felt he would succeed through effort. The two secular priests, Ferrari and Caretti, did very well right from the beginning, and David was astonished to find on going over their sermons so few mistakes in grammar. The seminarians were less persistent. Deys, who already had some knowledge of English, asked David for permission to withdraw from

his classes, but David noted that he would speak very imperfectly with very poor pronunciation. Gonzalez was eccentric, and did not make much progress, so that his knowledge of both French and English was considerably curtailed. Tichitoli did nicely and his teacher felt he would speak well.

But of the seminarians David's praise was especially reserved for Dahmen. Of him he said, "Mr. Dahmen, who is really the flower of this young group in all respects, will make his talk next Saturday. It is his where one finds less mistakes to be corrected either in style or language. He is full of good sense, industry, and solidity of thought."²³ Dahmen had been born at Düren on the Rhine in 1789. His course in the seminary was interrupted by the wars, and he was forced to enter Napoleon's army as a cavalry soldier, going through several battles. Afterward he returned to his vocation in Rome, where he met Bishop DuBourg. A contemporary description of him says: "His undoubted courage, sense of honor, uprightness and integrity of character won our admiration; his brusque and military air was independent of forms, while his courtesy and kindliness rendered him lovable to a degree. His piety and learning were well recognized. . . ." ²⁴ He already had the minor orders and was ordained subdeacon at St. Thomas and deacon at St. Genevieve. In December, 1818, he entered the Vincentian order and was ordained priest by DuBourg at St. Louis in September, 1819, being just over thirty years of age. His first parish was at Vincennes, but he was recalled from there because of nonsupport. He returned to the seminary of De Andreis, but on petition of the people of Vincennes was sent back there. However, financial support still not forthcoming, he was again recalled, sent to Florissant, and then to St. Genevieve, where he took up the pastorate in September, 1822. "He had a natural gift of eloquence in French, English, and German. His cheerful disposition won every heart; his fine figure and military bearing and sturdy manliness impressed the judgment in his favor." He soon had the support of the people of this place as well as had Father Pratte. With the coming of the German emigration to St. Louis, Father Dahmen's services were especially valuable. Joseph Tichitoli, also a subdeacon, soon after his arrival at St. Louis was forced to

leave for the milder climate of the South. Father Joseph Caretti, only twenty-eight years old, developed consumption and died immediately after coming to St. Louis on December 3.

Their life, in the shelter of St. Thomas of Kentucky, also gave these men a preview of the things to come in their adopted missions of Louisiana. Within a week after their arrival at Bishop Flaget's, Father De Andreis was writing back home a vivid account of the ordinary fare of the priests of St. Thomas. He felt that the life of a missionary priest was pretty hard, as he must be constantly on horseback wending his way among the thick woods, sometimes thirty to ninety miles to visit the sick or attend the various congregations. He noted that the churches were built of logs, without ornamentation and scattered within the woods, where on festival days both Catholic and Protestants gathered from twenty miles around. It was sometimes amusing to see the woods filled with horses, "neighing as if a regiment of cavalry were in the vicinity." The Mass, sermon, confessions, and baptisms could occupy the whole day. He described conditions of the country, stating that "there are neither towns nor villages; all the work is done by Negro slaves, who are very numerous." He was, of course, making this observation of the region around St. Thomas, and after only a few days there. He was edified to see that men, women, and children, of every age, came on horseback as far as fifteen miles to attend Mass, and that if they went to Holy Communion they often had to remain fasting until they arrived home in the evening. He was pleased at the attention given to the priests on their missionary trips by the planters upon whom they were dependent for food and lodging. "Even Protestants will do all in their power to receive him well, though the best fare that he can expect consists of nothing but some cornbread very badly baked, salt pork, potatoes and water. This is the refreshment that the missionary finds after a pretty long journey, having heard confessions the whole morning until one or two in the afternoon, said Mass, preached, baptized, etc.; sometimes at five in the evening he is still fasting," reported the sensitive Italian who had but the year before been living in the midst of the convenience and luxury of the Eternal City.²⁵

David and Flaget also took advantage of the presence of this large number of clerics to carry out the liturgy in all its beauty. During Holy Week they had ceremonies such as Kentucky had never before witnessed. Rosati acted as master of ceremonies and took his share of the chanting and preaching. David had given in to De Andreis' plea for the ceremony of the Three Hours on the supposition that the latter would take charge of it. However, De Andreis begged off because of his inadequate knowledge of English, so upon David fell the chief burden of the functions, and, as he was indisposed, this turned out to be of more than ordinary fatigue and hardship. Between one and four o'clock he had to speak nine times for more than fifteen minutes on each occasion. The Bishop had officiated on every day; on Easter morning they had had Matins at 5:30 o'clock and a pontifical High Mass, with vespers in the evening and Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament at three different times during the day.

These festivities of the Easter season had an injurious effect upon David; he had a severe attack of asthma and the constant preaching did not help this. One evening he took a dose of ipecac, which caused vomiting. This was followed by such violent and continuous coughing that he feared he was choking to death, and spent a terrible night. The doctor who came out the next day witnessed a return of this and gave him eight drops of laudanum and prescribed a twenty-fifth of one grain of ipecac at bedtime. He took also a grain of ipecac with three of squill four times a day, "and if all this doesn't help I must resolve myself to a bleeding." Bleeding for an asthmatic attack! He found that breathing was easier when he bent over, so spent most of the night in an armchair with his head resting on a pillow placed on a table before him.²⁶

Despite his linguistic embarrassment De Andreis celebrated Mass on Holy Saturday in one of the congregations left in Flaget's charge by Nerinckx, and his sermon left his hearers in tears. He attended also the chapel of St. Joseph in Bardstown, hearing confessions, visiting the sick, and baptizing. Rosati was not only attending outside congregations, but also preached on several occasions at the seminary. Rosati left after Easter with Chabrat

for Louisville, and after a few days there went on to Vincennes to give a mission. He had to cut it short after two weeks as he became very ill with a fever; so the last of April he was back at St. Thomas.

Although the Italians' presence at St. Thomas enlivened the place during this year, normal activities went on as usual. David had fifteen seminarians, five of whom were in theology at this period. Sometime during 1817 ordinations took place; Flaget conferred major orders on the first of the Kentuckians, and the priesthood on "the good Derigaud . . . more for the purpose of saying Mass than to exercise the sacred ministry for which he is not yet sufficiently instructed."²⁷ Others received the minor orders, and it seems likely that the Italian seminarians received some of their orders at the hands of Flaget. For some reason Flaget gave Millet the minor orders in secret. All these ceremonies took place in the new chapel, which was, however, still without pulpit or gallery.

Although the new seminary building was not finished, the seminarians continued to work on various other projects. Millet was as able a carpenter as Moretty and more original. He made the tabernacle for the church of St. Thomas, and then began work on a more elaborate altar. He caused a good deal of difficulty by writing an unusual letter to Bishop DuBourg, stating that he was really intending to go into his diocese and telling that prelate, among other interesting things, that the seminary was a "wretched place where there reigned the most loathsome poverty." Flaget felt that there were few other artisans with as rare talents in the creation of ornamentation. It was noted that when he was occupied with some such project his turbulent mind was at peace.

The St. Thomas crops of wheat and corn as well as the plantation as a whole were kept in good condition by an overseer. They had begun this year a plan to obtain good, conscientious workers in order to free themselves of the "evil breed of Negroes that we have here who steal from us and deceive us in every way." Young men, who had no desire for the clerical state, were signed up for a period of a year for any sort of work that was needed on the church property in return for an ordinary education in reading, writing, and arithmetic. The youngsters were boarded here, but

bought their own clothes. The requests for opportunity so to serve the Bishop exceeded the need.

Meanwhile the Bishop sent to the Sisters of Nazareth two Negroes to relieve the Sisters of outside work, such as cutting wood. He also gave the veil to four girls, two of whom were sisters, who brought with them to Loretto their own family of Negro slaves. He was pleased at this addition to Loretto, for he felt it would help to make the establishment financially more stable.

These various events held the Italians' interest while they studied and awaited impatiently the advent of their own Bishop. They as well as Father Rosati regarded Bishop Flaget with awe and affection, as "that virtuous prelate who makes the bishops and priests of the early church live again in his own person and in the person of his clergy."²⁸ The strong friendship that was to exist between the two until the death of Rosati in 1843 began immediately upon the arrival of the Italians in 1817. As the spring merged into the summer and the summer into fall the Romans began to fear their Bishop would not join them that year. However, three events occurred in the fall that raised all their spirits and made the woods of the "holy land" resound with joy and gaiety and excitement. Nerinckx came home in September, the bulls of appointment to the coadjutorship arrived at Bardstown in November, and the Bishop of Louisiana rode into St. Thomas in December.

Father Nerinckx had not only presented Flaget's report to Pius VII, but had also made the request for the appointment of David as coadjutor. After some weeks in Rome he returned to Holland, and left Amsterdam on May 8, 1817. He had spent some time with his brother, also a priest, in England. He had received contributions for the Kentucky missions from cardinals and chambermaids as well as making purchases from his own money. He came back to America not only with a large quantity of church goods but also with several men for the missions. However, on arrival in this country, eight of these men decided to join the Jesuits at Georgetown; the ninth took Father Nerinckx' freight by sea to New Orleans, in order to escape the customs' duties, this city of Louisiana being at that time a free port. He never reached Kentucky, as he contracted a fever and died in

New Orleans. Among the others were James O. Vandeveld, who had expected to study in the Kentucky seminary but changed his mind once in this country; he eventually became Bishop of Chicago in 1849 and then Bishop of Natchez. This group had had a dangerous trip of some eighty days before reaching Baltimore July 29, 1817.

Nerinckx managed to get by the customs for only \$240 on the baggage with him. To send the rest by New Orleans cost him almost \$400 just to that port and it cost him \$900 to get the other eight thousand pounds of baggage to Louisville. These figures do not include the entire cost, but are examples of what he paid for transportation alone. Upon reaching Baltimore he had expected to visit friends before returning home, but awaiting him was such a pathetic and earnest appeal from his Bishop for a speedy return that he decided to leave at once. He bought a horse for \$140, but by the time he had reached Pittsburgh, four days later, this man, who could lift one end of a log against three men at the other end, had worn out his horse and had to buy another. At Lewistown, Kentucky, he had to procure still another, as the second went lame. He arrived at Loretto on September 4, 1817, and "the family being rather on a slight lookout for him" he was welcomed joyously. Four days later he rode over to the seminary to see his Bishop. About the time DuBourg came, the great collection of Nerinckx also rumbled in, and what exclamations there were over it! The most complete set of vestments, including several copes, very rich in texture, he gave to the Cathedral, as well as a bell, organ, ciborium, and monstrance. The seminary was given a set of white vestments for four priests and black ones with a cope; another fancy white set with an embroidered cope to be used for first-class feasts (donated by Joseph Peemans, a Louvain merchant, a long-time friend of the American missions) as well as twenty chasubles of different colors, albs and other linens, and a small monstrance. For the Dominicans he brought back from their friends more than thirty chasubles, fine linens, and several complete sets of vestments. He gave Father Badin and Father Chabrat various items for their congregations. To St. Charles, St. Mary's, and the Sisters of Nazareth went chasubles, monstrances, ciboriums, chalices, and

other linens. To his convent of Loretto he gave three fine bells, a full set of white vestments, a full set of "antique and very fine red vestments," a cope, and many other things. The paintings did not arrive for several months.²⁹

Father Nerinckx had not yet become adjusted to his own return before the communities were stirred again that September of 1817 by the news of the safe arrival of Bishop DuBourg in Baltimore. Flaget decided to leave immediately for St. Louis to make final arrangements for DuBourg's reception; so with De Andreis, Rosati, and two others he left on October 1, taking the land route by horseback. They crossed the Ohio at Shawneetown, and were met at Kaskaskias by Father Olivier. They went on to St. Genevieve and were met by Father Henry Pratte. The Bishop discussed the project and two different meetings were held about it. They went on to St. Louis, arriving October 17. Bishop Flaget found the stone rectory and church practically in ruins, without doors, windows, or furniture, and the rectory even without a floor. Although the townsmen offered their homes the Bishop preferred to keep his group together. A bed was sent for him, and the others slept on buffalo robes on the floor. At first he was met with indifference, but his personality and amiable manners soon brought about a marked change. He held several meetings and spoke eloquently to the people on the advantages which would accrue to them by the Bishop's presence. Their indifference soon changed to enthusiasm, and before Flaget left the city a crew of men were at work on the church and rectory. He secured from them the promise that they would support the Bishop adequately, and collected enough to pay DuBourg's expenses. Jeremiah Connor, sheriff, collector, and treasurer of St. Louis, collected over \$1,000 and himself gave a sizable sum. Colonel Thomas H. Benton, the future first senator from Missouri, also made a considerable contribution. Flaget left Father Pratte in charge of the work at St. Louis, and took Father De Andreis to St. Genevieve to substitute for Father Pratte. Then he and Father Rosati began what was to be one of the most disagreeable trips he had ever experienced between St. Louis and Bardstown. They went through every hardship possible — muddy roads, raging rivers, dangerous swamps,

swearing frontiersmen in smelly taverns — before finally reaching St. Thomas, exhausted and dirty, on November 6.

Three weeks later the mails brought the news of Father David's elevation as Titular Bishop of Mauricastro and Coadjutor of Bardstown, and the spirits of Flaget soared. However, two years were to elapse before the consecration of David, because of the great scrupulosity of these men. One of the reasons given in the bulls for the appointment was the age and infirmity of the Bishop, but David was two years older than Flaget and the latter's activities certainly showed that he was as robust as man can be. After a long discussion with Flaget and DuBourg, David decided to write Cardinal Litta to have the wording changed. He sent this letter on to Bruté, but afterward decided to seek the further advice of the Archbishop of Baltimore. Although he was uneasy about the wording of the brief nevertheless there were numerous reasons which made him feel that it might be better to overlook this scrupulousness and proceed at once with the consecration. David felt that the episcopal character would allow him to handle diocesan affairs much better during Flaget's anticipated prolonged absence. He also wanted the consecration to take place before Rosati and the others left, and he realized that it would be some time before a reply from Rome would resolve the problem. Flaget had already left on another trip to St. Louis, so David could not get his advice on this viewpoint, and as the Archbishop could recover his letters to Cardinal Litta from Bruté this gave another consideration for writing that personage. However, the Metropolitan also thought that Rome should be consulted, and when Flaget returned he expressed the same opinion as Maréchal, advising that the letter be sent on speedily, so the private feelings of David were put aside and the ceremony indefinitely postponed.

Bishop DuBourg came riding up to St. Thomas with one of his companions, Father Anthony Blanc, and Father Chabrat and Father Derigaud in the evening of December 2. He had left Bordeaux on July 1, and after sixty-five days' voyage he and his group arrived in America. He had managed to collect an additional group of over thirty to add to his first band. DuBourg's missionaries included four future bishops — Rosati, Blanc, De Neckère, and

Portier, as well as another, Jeanjean, who refused the episcopacy. DuBourg remained at the Sulpician seminary from September 10 until November 4 when he and the major part of his followers left for Bardstown. They had an unusually hard trip to Pittsburgh as the Cumberland Road was started but not completed. Their stage overturned three times in one day, and they walked over 150 miles, often late at night when they could hardly see the road. Their trip down the Ohio was easier. Flaget had sent his two priests to Louisville to meet DuBourg, and they had been waiting over two weeks. He also sent several seminarians to aid them, and gave detailed and explicit instructions on the hiring of horses, coaches, and whatever else was necessary to bring the company to St. Thomas.³⁰

Instead of allowing the grand episcopal reception that had been planned, DuBourg came dashing out to the seminary. Two thrones were placed in the little chapel of St. Thomas; and the Louisiana Bishop preached on the first Sunday of Advent, and pontificated on the feast of the Immaculate Conception. All the pomp made DuBourg exclaim that it reminded him of the ceremonies of Rome. In fact, the resources of St. Thomas were taxed to the limit. Even after the departure of DuBourg and several of his men, David stated, "I believe the number of our guests amount to 24, who with 17 of our own people, make a family of 41 people; 27 of us ecclesiastics in choir, and then three of our young men who will have received the tonsure, will make thirty. . . ." Some were quartered with Badin and in other Catholic homes in the vicinity. DuBourg had the grace to give David \$1,000 of the money Flaget had collected for him in St. Louis for the expenses of the sojourn at St. Thomas.³¹ David had to start new courses in English for this large group, while Rosati took over the classes in theology.

The Bishop of Louisiana was anxious to reach his see, so on December 12, hoping to reach St. Louis before Christmas, Flaget, Badin, and one of the seminarians accompanied him to Louisville to get a steamer for St. Louis. They left Louisville on December 18, but were detained at the mouth of the Ohio River for days by ice. As they were still marooned there on Christmas day the unfortunate priests were unable to say their Christmas Masses, and

had to content themselves with three meditations. Badin left them that night to go overland to visit friends, and the rest arrived at St. Genevieve on December 30. Here they were received with great ceremony, and on January 1 DuBourg pontificated. Father Savine welcomed the Bishops, who had been joined now by Badin and De Andreis at Cahokia on January 3. On Monday, January 5, mounted on the best horses available, the men of the town escorted the Bishops to the river. They crossed to the other side where they were awaited by a vast crowd. Going in carriages to the rectory the two Bishops immediately vested in their full pontificals, came majestically down the steps to be met by the leading men of the town bearing a canopy, and proceeded to the church. As they walked along "we blessed them to the right and to the left." The Bishops, preceded by choirboys, clerics, and cross-bearer, marched in a long procession of people which filled the church past capacity. "Love, respect, and joy appeared in turn on their faces."

In the sanctuary the Bishop of Bardstown led the Bishop of Louisiana by the hand to his throne, formally and ceremoniously installed him on his episcopal chair. Flaget then turned to address the multitude, to congratulate them and the Bishop upon the great event. He reminded the Bishop of the great obligations which he had just incurred in joining his flock and ended by complimenting him on the eagerness the people had manifested to have him in their midst. The emotional, happy Flaget's voice broke and tears streamed down his face unchecked. The people of St. Louis had long since grown to love and even idolize him; his mission was a complete success as his eloquent sermon won all hearts to the new Bishop. The *Te Deum* was sung and everyone retired after having received "a thousand blessings both from heaven and from the Bishops who distributed them liberally." On the feast of the Epiphany DuBourg celebrated a pontifical Mass, "and preached with such admirable eloquence that he penetrated the hardest hearts and produced the most marvelous effects." Flaget also gave a farewell sermon at this mass. DuBourg's personality soon won the hearts of the people of St. Louis.

"Four days later I took leave of this good confrère without

seeing him, so painful was it to say farewell. And after having been delayed for a week by ice at St. Genevieve where I had gone I finally reached my diocese and after some time finally reached my dear St. Thomas where my heart is wherever I may go. Nevertheless it took me six weeks to rejoin my beloved family having been obliged to stop at Post Vincennes for three weeks to administer the spiritual aid of which they had such need and to prepare the most necessary things for the reception of two priests whom Monsignor of St. Louis is to send there. Although I had great pleasure in rejoining my seminary boys the joy was soon changed to sadness when they told me that Mr. Schaeffer was going to leave my diocese to return to Europe. May the holy Will of God be done!" wrote Flaget to Bruté in giving him a long account of the events at St. Louis.³² He and Badin had returned by horseback, and again a hazardous trip had been experienced by the travel-worn Bishop; they were forced to spend three nights sleeping on the open prairies in crossing Illinois, not reaching Vincennes until January 27. Finally, on February 21, 1818, Flaget wearily turned in to the plantation of St. Thomas. After years of attention to the needs of St. Louis he had turned over its jurisdiction to a colleague with whom he could share his heavy burdens; he had succeeded in the delicate task that was to be the first step leading to the erection of that great see. He had installed another of the first Bishops of the West in one of those tiny cathedrals in the wilderness.

Eight

THE fruits of Flaget's administration of the diocese of Bardstown now began to appear; by 1821, when he had rounded out a full decade of the episcopacy, it was apparent that the saintly Bishop's leadership, firmness, and zeal had fulfilled, beyond even the brightest expectations, all that might have been desired by those who had participated in the appointment of the first Bishop of the West. Before the end of this decade he had consecrated as coadjutor bishop the rector of his seminary; he had seen the completion of his famous cathedral; he had made at least one visitation of all the parishes in his vast diocese up to the Canadian line; he had begun the ordination of native Kentuckians; and he had realized that the religious orders were firmly established. His motto — *in coelo quies* — seems well chosen when one follows the fifty-five-year-old prelate on horseback down the long trails in the spring of 1818 on his Northwestern visitation or over the roads of Tennessee on his visitation to that state in the spring of 1821. This year was also to see the first division of his diocese, the creation of the see of Ohio.

Of course, before he began his first visitation of the uppermost regions of his diocese, he had to make arrangements for his long absence, take stock of affairs with David, and attend to such ecclesiastical affairs as ordinations and appointments. Unrealized by him, this year of 1818 was to unfold several events which seemed to pair off. Flaget had with consternation learned on his return from St. Louis that Father Peter Schaeffer had decided to leave him. Poor Schaeffer had never been very well, and after his appointment to the missions of Breckinridge and Grayson

Counties his health declined so rapidly that only a year later he asked to be relieved of this burden and then decided to return to Europe to seek recovery. He waited only for the Bishop's return and permission before leaving. This loss was made up in the same year through the adoption of his diocese by David A. De Parcq, who was ordained the next year by Flaget. De Parcq had already completed his education when he decided to accompany DuBourg to America. He was the opposite of Schaeffer, for he had the reputation of such excellent health that no one knew when he was ever ill. According to a contemporary he was "of medium height, and stoutly built," deliberate in judgment, completely charitable in action, devoted to work and duty. Bishop Flaget had great confidence and respect in his integrity and zeal. "As a preacher he spoke well and to the point, without notes and without previous committal of his thoughts to paper. His sermons were always short, solid and practical; and they were delivered with unction . . . and the least agreeable to human nature of all the duties of the priesthood — that of hearing confessions — appeared to be the one in which he took most delight."¹ His first appointment was to Lebanon where he finished the church begun by Nerinckx. He also served Holy Mary's and was the chaplain of the convent of Calvary.

Another great event of 1818 was the ordination of the first native Kentuckians, and it too had the unusual feature of a paradox. Some time this year, probably during the Eastertide, as it was before April 15, two young Kentuckians, both greatly loved by David, walked out of the sanctuary with the sacred oils on their fingers, placed by the loving hand of Flaget.² As this pair received the congratulations of their friends none could foretell that one would become "the old war horse of the clergy of Kentucky," whose name has never died, while the other would go into disgrace, with his name obliterated from the rolls of the men of David and hidden from even the appearance of records. Charles Coomes had the same education and the same spiritual training as Robert Abell, but because he lacked the same spirit, the graces of God were not received in the same way. Coomes was restless, moved by strange emotions. He fought against himself, and at

times bitterly reproached himself. He tried to pray, but had no feeling of spirituality. Six years after his ordination he was sent to replace Father Chabrat at St. Pius Church in Scott County. This was not the best place in the diocese for this priest for the parish had always been one of the most turbulent of Kentucky. Father Angier had had it for almost ten years until 1817. Then Father Samuel H. Montgomery relieved him, and until 1822 had no trouble. In that year a controversy began which involved a considerable part of the congregation, and although most of the group sided with the pastor, yet the prestige and influence of his opponents made the fray dangerous, especially as the struggle resulted in such fury that even handbills appeared. Father Wilson recalled the Dominican, and the Bishop sent Father Chabrat in the hope that he could heal the wounds. Judge Twyman cautioned Chabrat to be extremely prudent, but since prudence was never a virtue cultivated by this favorite of Flaget the troubles continued. In 1824 Charles Coomes was sent there and seemed satisfactory to all, but he was soon sent to another part of the state. In a short time news reached the Bishop that he had left with a woman. Shortly thereafter, the Cathedral of Bardstown was the scene of the terrible ceremonial of a public excommunication. Father Ignatius Reynolds, choking with emotion, read the formula before the sad clergy and in the presence of the two dejected but stern Bishops. However, it would be more amazing were there not a few such events, for human nature is not changed even by the presence of saints, and the rare occurrences of this nature makes the occasional one stand out.

Robert Abell was the opposite of this priest, and it might be said that he was to be the recompense to Bishop Flaget for the other. To him was given the same genuine golden-tongued oratory that had been given to Henry Clay; he also had accepted the admonition "do not consider anxiously what you are to say or how you are to say it, words will be given you when the time comes." Badin was to leave the diocese the next year, and upon Abell fell the mantle of the great Apostle of Kentucky, for he had the same wit and the same zeal if not the same temper. Robert Abell had been born in 1792 in the old Washington County

of Kentucky. His father died while he was a boy, and he worked with his mother on the farm. He gave evidence of eloquence at an early age and was sent to school at St. Rose under Father Wilson before he entered the seminary. He was described as a young giant over six feet four inches in height, with blue-gray eyes, which were always warm and sympathetic. From the beginning his greatest powers were revealed in the pulpit. To him Father Nerinckx turned over his outlying missions of the extreme southern and southwestern parts of the state, and soon after his ordination the two rode out together to visit each of the stations and to introduce the new priest to the people. To Hardin's County, to Elizabethtown, as far as Union County the two journeyed, and at almost every stop Father Abell preached. Here began his great reputation.

The Dominican priests were also extending their sphere of activities as their number grew. Father Edward D. Fenwick had long since resigned his office of superior to Father Wilson, and was being allowed to devote most of his attention to the needs of Ohio, traveling all over that state to seek out the scattered Catholics. He was joined in 1818 by his nephew, Nicholas D. Young, who had been ordained only the year before. The two, in December, 1818, blessed the first Catholic church of Ohio, St. Joseph's of Somerset.

The convents also continued to expand, both in members and in new schools. Here, too, there may be seen two contrasting episodes, as one Sister left Nazareth and three joined to make up the loss. Sister Mary Gwynn, who had been among the first nuns to come to Nazareth and had participated in the first election, on August 12, 1818, became the first one to leave the confines of the order for the next world. The three girls who joined this year were Agatha Cooper, and Clare and Frances Gardiner. The latter two were sisters of one already in Nazareth, Sister Harriet. Frances Gardiner, nicknamed "little Moses," as she was only eighteen then, became one of the great names of Nazareth. As Mother Frances, her place is second only to Mother Catherine, for she served twenty-five years of her life in the office of superior. In later years as Mother Superior she might have appeared austere, but those

with whom she worked knew this masked an affectionate nature, gentle consideration, and meek authority. She always remained in her heart the "little Moses" of younger years. The first brick building was completed in this year, but the year also brought debts and problems. There were less than a half-dozen boarders, although the nuns hoped to see the number grow because of the new building. Here, too, girls came offering to work half days in return for education during the rest of the day. Mother Catherine had need of all her courage in this period. David had advised her against admitting two or three additional postulants at this time because of their present state of poverty, but "she smiled and asked me if we must deny these souls the path to heaven, through fear of a poor income. I don't dare contradict such Christian views."³ Undoubtedly, those whom David worried over admitting were these very same three sisters. He asked Bruté to secure some globes and other classroom equipment for the Sisters. He also pointed out to Bruté the hardships that were facing the community at this time and told him to paint well the extremely austere life of the Kentucky Sisters to the girls of Baltimore who wished to join them. David also advised Bruté that Mother Catherine was reluctant to accept girls in the novitiate over their parent's opposition, although if the girls were of age she might consider it. However, the nuns felt the parents should be consulted and persuaded.

When the Cathedral was finally completed in Bardstown, Flaget asked the Sisters of Nazareth to open a school in this city, and there the first branch house of the order was established. The following year a group of four, under Sister Elizabeth Suttle, went to Breckinridge County to found a school, but this was not successful and was later abandoned. Sister Angela Spink took a group to Union County with marked success. Thus, by 1821, it became common for the Sisters of Nazareth to send small groups out over the parishes of Kentucky to found schools and open branch convents. Education, under their hands, became an accustomed commodity for the Catholics of Kentucky, and in the meanwhile the mother house flourished.

The Sisters of Loretto made their first move outside their own

walls a year before that of Nazareth. In the spring of 1818 they opened the school of Gethsemani on a farm given them by James Dant. Six Sisters, under Sister Teresa Grundy, began this pioneer effort. After this date, like the Nazareth Sisters, practically every year witnessed a new establishment in the state, and in 1823 at the request of Bishop DuBourg a group of Sisters were sent to his aid, opening a house in Perry County, at the Barrens, in Missouri. Meanwhile, Father Wilson had founded the third Sisterhood of Kentucky, the Dominican Sisters, and they too had the same struggle for survival as had faced the others in infancy.

Although the Sisters began to widen the scope of their services and activities by these new establishments, it was often at a considerable sacrifice of their own spiritual happiness, for these branch houses could not have the advantage of daily Mass or the spiritual ministrations so readily available at the mother houses. This was especially true at this time as St. Thomas was deprived of the extra priests who had been there for almost two years. In the spring of 1818 DuBourg's men began an exodus in different groups for various destinations, although two, De Parcq and Hosten, decided to remain with Flaget. On September 15 Rosati led twenty of them to Louisville where they boarded a flatboat for a trip on the Ohio River. After various incidents they arrived in their diocese, and on October 2 reached the Barrens, in Perry County, about eighty miles from St. Louis where the seminary had been set up. Here they began a life which at times equaled the poverty and hardships suffered by Flaget's group when it first arrived in Kentucky. Before Rosati's leaving, Father Chabrat on June 1 had taken Father Blanc and Father Jeanjean to Vincennes, because the Bishop of Louisiana loaned them to Flaget in gratitude for the latter's kindness. Father Jeanjean was to found a college there, but as difficulties arose he was soon recalled by DuBourg.

Two other priests of DuBourg's were also loaned to Flaget for the missions around Detroit. These, Fathers Bertrand and Janvier, set out with Flaget as the Bishop began the long visitation of the extreme northwestern parts of his diocese. The anticipation of this trip was a worry to the Bishop, although he had bravely observed, "I am very sure that God and my good angel will be

with me, so what do I have to fear in such company, and what is there that I cannot do?" One might wonder if the goods he had requested from Bruté came through in time for his use on this trip. He had written Bruté, "as my sight is failing I should like two magnifying glasses, not for a near-sighted man like Mr. Tessier, but for a man between 50 and 60 whose sight is failing little by little due to age. Mr. Maguire could bring them to me. . . . I am taking advantage of this opportunity to ask for some good tobacco from Baltimore, 12 lbs. of one kind and 12 of the other." He also had asked Bruté to say one hundred Masses for various intentions. Bruté was always sending little gifts of money, clothes, statues, and other articles to Kentucky.

The long trip, which Flaget began on May 15, 1818, had its origin in a time well before this, for after mature consideration, guided by the counsel of his priests he had taken cognizance of long existing conditions in Detroit and on February 27, 1817, had completed the writing of an important document which was then dispatched to Richard. This concerned no less a matter than the interdiction of a church there, and the conditional excommunication of the leaders of the dispute against their pastor, the Very Reverend Gabriel Richard. The people of the northeastern shore, through the leadership of seven of their wardens, attempted to organize a body in opposition to the pastor and his authority, the quarrel especially centering around the graveyard and church property. In response to a petition of 1816, Flaget, refraining from reproaching them for their past misconduct, had promised them that a pastor would be sent for their new church as soon as possible. Yet, even before his reply was received, Richard's opponents began anew their machinations against him and began to hold sessions and issue decrees contrary to the rules of the Church. Flaget's indignation was especially directed against the man who had "raised his hands and violently menaced your respectable pastor, who for nearly twenty years has moistened this ungrateful field with the sweat of his brow, sacrificing his inclinations and his tastes in order not to leave you without a priest." Pointing out that their church would have been built long before had not this state of affairs existed, referring to his duty to protest against

irregularities and scandal, and quoting St. Paul's action toward the Church at Corinth, relying upon the authority of the custom of the Church on such occasions, he pronounced his judgment upon the points of controversy, stating where the new church should be built, what should be done about the cemetery, and branding the new corporation of St. Anne illegitimate. He declared the interdiction of the church of St. Anne if his decision were not obeyed thirty days after the third reading. As this penalty was of a personal character he stated that it followed the persons and held in all places and countries and could be removed only by himself or his delegate. The church was to be closed and no celebration of ecclesiastical ceremonies could take place.⁴ However, the necessity of such action made the Bishop very unhappy, and he felt that his own presence at the parish could lead to a solution of the controversy. He was anxious to lift the interdict and had for some time longed to visit this part of his diocese. As soon, therefore, as circumstances permitted he set out for Detroit with the priests who were to aid Richard in his work. It was, however, well over a year after the interdict was placed in effect that Flaget started for that unhappy parish.

They rode horseback the entire four hundred mile trip, the major part of which transversed the western part of Ohio, reaching Cincinnati on May 19. There they spent two busy days, visiting the few Catholic families, administering the Sacraments, talking to them about the condition of religion in their city, and finally making arrangements for the purchase of a lot and the construction of a church. The beauties of the valley of the Miami captivated him as it has always done any traveler. They rode through Dayton and Springfield, and the Bishop offered Mass at Urbana on May 24. Here he prayed earnestly for assistance because the remainder of the route to Detroit was entirely unknown to him. His perplexity becoming known to the townspeople, it was not long before a young officer, himself en route to Detroit, volunteered to act as a guide. At Solomon's Town, on May 25, the Bishop met some Indian women, who showed they had come into contact with Catholicism; he spent that night at Fort McArthur. The next night the party spent in a loathsome tavern at Fort Finly. All

the women of the family who operated this hotel had the itch, so it was not with too much of an appetite that the party drank out of the "same vases used by these afflicted persons" and ate the cornbread prepared by their hands.⁵ The same sleeping room was shared by about fifteen travelers, who had to spread their covering "on the very rough floor." By this time the roads were becoming worse with every mile, mud and water rendering the way slow and uncomfortable. They camped in the woods the night of May 27, and the next day reached "the Rapids of the Miami of the Lakes, and found two towns springing up on opposite sides of the river." From here they went on into Michigan (not yet a state) and stopped three days at the parish on the Raisin River. Flaget found the altar of the church in such condition that he could not celebrate Mass, but on May 31 he preached and imposed public penance upon a man who had married out of the Church. He was also entertained here by a member of the Territorial Congress.

On June 1 Flaget was met, ten miles out of Detroit, by a delegation on horseback, which conducted him into the city with the same French enthusiasm that had been accorded him at St. Louis. He was called upon, in the custom of the social conventions of that day, by the leading dignitaries, foremost among whom were the governor of the territory, Lewis Cass, and General Macomb. As was also customary, he returned their visits the following day. The Governor promised him every possible aid toward the promotion of the mission among the Indians.

Detroit's population in 1824 was supposed to have been 1325 plus the garrison's soldiers. It had then three main streets and six cross streets. A detailed account of the Detroit of 1816 states that the city of that year had but one wharf, and that not one ship on the lakes was owned there. It describes the fort, the garrison grounds, and the pickets, a line of which surrounded the town. There were about one hundred buildings, more or less, in the town, some seventy homes, twenty-five buildings, and a few others. The account mentions "four taverns, four lawyers, and two doctors." Concerning transportation other than the lakes it says, "The road around the lake was not practicable for wheels, one

third of the distance, and at certain parts of the year, was scarcely practicable for a horse. No road led out of Detroit except up and down the river. The mail was brought in on horseback once a week, in a small mail bag, which in bad traveling was borne on a man's shoulder thru the Black Swamp." The sketch also states that in 1816, as the Catholic Church had been burned down in the great fire of 1805, "there was not a place of public worship in Detroit . . . [services] were then held in the house of Mr. La Salle, on a farm about two miles below town. . . ."⁸

The Indians, hearing of Bishop Flaget's arrival, sent delegations to greet him. On June 5 he entered in his *Journal* his intention to propose the city as the seat of a new episcopal see for that territory. Meanwhile he began a series of discussions with all who wished to talk on the problems of Detroit. His personality soon had its effect, and in a short time the schism was brought to an end and the offending parties, reconciled to their pastor, were happy over the conclusion of the affair. On June 9 amid strains of a band and bursts of cannon, preceded by a long procession, in as ceremonious a manner as possible, the Bishop removed the interdict. A public reconciliation, addresses in both French and English, were followed by a collection of \$500. The Bishop dined with Governor Cass one day and with the General the next. Returning from the latter function his horses were frightened near the riverbanks and bolted. He was pitched out of the carriage, down the banks into the river, and suffered a severe concussion to his shoulder, the effect of which remained permanently with him. This accident did not prevent him from giving instructions, preaching, and hearing confession. He and Father Richard held several religious conferences for the faithful, Richard proposing questions and Flaget answering them.

On June 17 he left, with Father Bertrand, on a sailing vessel for Montreal. The vessel stopped at Buffalo but Flaget did not get off. On July 24 he visited Fort Erie and Niagara Falls. Like any ordinary visitor he was greatly awed by the falls, saying of them: "These Falls present the most grand and sublime spectacle, which a mortal can contemplate on earth . . . it is impossible for the coldest soul not to become warmed at the sight of this

wonder. . . . Alas, the torrents of grace, much more extended, and much more voluminous than this cataract of waters falling with so much force before my eyes, are flowing each instant into the hearts of men, and most of those hearts are not more penetrated by them than are the hard rocks upon which these waters fall! Is not this the case with my own heart?" The next day he went by steamer to Kingston where he preached in both English and French. On July 2 he left, on a small craft, for Montreal. The trip was hot and difficult. On July 5 they reached Montreal and Flaget went immediately to the Sulpician seminary where he stayed until leaving for Quebec, four days later. The journey was made the more pleasant by the company on the steamer of the Coadjutor Bishop of Montreal. At Quebec also he stayed in the seminary, and like the usual tourist spent several days visiting and admiring the churches and other institutions. Accompanied always, while in Canada, by different Canadian priests he also made several visits outside the town. On July 20 he was back in Montreal, and the next day he visited an old schoolmate whom he had not seen for over thirty years, stationed in St. Ann Parish. Here he was visited by a large band of Algonquins who took him out to their village. At his Mass on July 28 these Indians responded in two choirs, and afterward put on an exhibition of sports for his entertainment. At his departure they accompanied him part of the way in their canoes, running races and showing off their skill in the water. Flaget finally left Montreal on August 2, visiting several priests on his way, and going through Cornwallis and Prescott, to arrive at Buffalo August 14. After a week here he took a steamer to Cleveland, for a four-day trip made annoying by a storm and uncongenial passengers. On August 27 he was back at Detroit.

Learning here of a vast gathering of Indians at St. Mary's, Ohio, to negotiate a land treaty with the government, Flaget determined to go there to see what might be done for the Indian missions within his jurisdiction. With Father Bertrand and Father Janvier he left Detroit September 3, arriving at the treaty grounds six days later. Here the impressive sight of thousands of Indians encamped among a few American troops met their eyes. Flaget was

delighted by the company of the Indian commissioners, who were there to treat with the Indians. Governor Cass, one of them, introduced him to the others, who immediately paid him the courtesies his rank enjoined. Furthermore, he charmed them as much as they impressed him. Governor Jonathan Jennings of Indiana, who missed losing his office by only two votes upon his return from this mission because of a clause in the Hoosier constitution prohibiting the governor from accepting federal office, was the second. The third, the gifted, learned Benjamin Parke, territorial judge, was one Indian agent who not only knew the Indians but was trusted by them. Judge Parke, a former Kentuckian, who had moved to Indiana and helped shape the beginning of that state, had a fine sense of integrity and honor. Flaget also was thrown often into the company of John Johnson, Indian agent, who was in a most commanding position in regard to the Indians. Flaget especially tried to show him that it would be to the advantage of both the Indians and of the government to establish missions among them; one of his tasks was to persuade various tribes to request the United States for such a thing. That he managed to secure some attention is attested by the fact that after only three weeks' brief encounter Johnson related:

The Indians present on the occasion numbered about ten thousand, consisting of Miamies, Potowattamies, Chippewas, Ottawas, Delawares, Shawanoese, Wyandotts, Senecas, and Kickapoos. It fell to my lot . . . to make all necessary arrangements for the treaty. This included, of course, the comfortable accommodation of the good Bishop. I procured him a horseman's tent, a sufficiency of blankets, a man to attend to his wants, sent him breakfast and supper from the officer's mess, he dining regularly with us at the public table. By invitation, the Bishop performed divine service and preached every Sabbath. Many of the sub-agents, interpreters, and Indians were of the Catholic persuasion, and occupied much of his time in attending to their spiritual wants. His conduct throughout his sojourn with us was so marked by the affability, courtesy, and kindness of his manners, with the dignity of the christian and gentleman, that he won all hearts. Added to this, he possessed a fine proportioned and commanding person; few persons excelled him here, when in the prime of his years. Previous to the departure of the Bishop,

it was proposed to raise a collection for him. One hundred dollars were speedily made up and the undersigned was charged with the delivery of the money. The Bishop peremptorily refused to receive any of it, stating that we had treated him so kindly he was largely our debtor. When departing on horseback, he stopped at my tent, which was some distance from his own, and dismounting to bid farewell, he took me in his arms.⁷

Because of the crowded conditions, fevers and other illnesses were prevalent, and both the Bishop and his priest became very ill with a fever. This, to some extent, prolonged his stay at the encampment. Despite his weakness he decided he had been there long enough, and so departed on October 6, reaching Detroit October 11. For weeks the effects of the fever remained with him and he had recurring attacks at intervals. In fact later he humorously observed that the only concrete attainment of these weeks was the fever, as the government seemed unable to arrive at any decision concerning the missions.⁸ The Bishop continued in his ordinary pursuits, visiting various parts of the country around Detroit to bring the sacraments to as many as possible, and on November 1 confirmed about two hundred at Detroit. The middle of the month he went over to the Raisin River and there devoted six weeks to an arduous round of giving instructions to children, preaching, hearing confessions, and attempting to correct certain abuses which entailed some discipline. He returned to Detroit only two days before New Year's.

His absence already was being felt by Father David; after six weeks of no news from "his dear Monsignor," David received two letters toward the end of November, dated October 23 and November 6, relating the story of his occupations at Detroit and his continual bouts with a fever, which "up to then had withstood the remedies given him." This caused David intense anxiety partly because of the Bishop's distance from home and partly through his feeling of his own inferiority in case he might be forced to take over the bishopric. However, several problems had arisen which he felt needed the Bishop's personal attention, and as Flaget had asked for his opinion David had not hesitated to persuade him to return home as soon as possible, but grumbled

the latter good-naturedly "he always seems to think that he is obliged to visit four or five parishes scattered over a space of five thousand miles in the vicinity of Lake Michigan and the Mississippi. . . . I told him that these parishes which had not seen a priest for a long time wouldn't receive any more advantage from the visit of a bishop than from a simple priest, that he could send there either Mr. De Andreis or even Mr. Richard, and that moreover being determined to ask the Holy See for a bishop for Detroit it was fitting that it be done as soon as possible, and that there wouldn't be any difficulty about it in Rome, so that in creating one and sending him to his post that bishop could in a short time visit these poor souls who would then have been prepared by the visit of the missionary."⁹ David was being very eloquent, for he feared that a new trip would keep the Bishop away for another three or four months, so that it might be August before he returned. This, felt the harassed priest, would result in grave inconveniences for the diocese in Kentucky. But it was the last day of June before Flaget reached home; and it was 1833 before the first Bishop of Detroit was consecrated.

During the remainder of the winter and spring Flaget continued his missionary activities in and around Detroit. Affairs were going very well in the parish of St. Ann, the new church building giving evidences of the peoples' zeal to please him. He gave retreats and conferences here all during Lent, caused the reformation of some public characters, and even preached in English every Sunday to audiences largely non-Catholic. Three days after Easter he again went out to the parish on the Raisin River, giving a retreat and administering Confirmation. He also attempted to make arrangements for the building of a new church there, and after two weeks of this he returned to Detroit to make preparations for his trip home.

On May 29, "accompanied by some young men for his seminary,"¹⁰ he took a steamer for the two-day trip to Erie, Pennsylvania. From there he went over to Waterford, and then by way of French Creek and the Allegheny River, on a keelboat, to Pittsburgh, where he conducted some business for David. There he met William Byrne, who had received the subdiaconate the previous

December in St. Mary's Seminary at Baltimore, but who was "on the eve of receiving the diaconate and priesthood when without consideration and against the will of his superior, he left the seminary for Kentucky, May 8, 1819."¹¹ Flaget also met Joseph Haseltine in Pittsburgh and confirmed him. Haseltine later went to Bardstown and became a priest of that diocese. On June 7, after only two days in the city, he left, with his companions, via another keelboat, and traveled on down the Ohio River to Cincinnati, arriving there two weeks later. He was delighted to find that the few Catholics of the city had taken his advice that the only way to obtain a priest was to build a church. They not only had completed the humble church (a frame one, fifty-five by twenty-five feet) but since his previous visit had it in use. A week later, on June 30, 1819, the Bishop reached Bardstown and St. Thomas, to be met by the joyous seminarians and the weeping David. He had been gone over a year and a month, and estimated that he had traveled on this visitation at least 2100 miles.¹²

Poor David! During the absence of the Bishop he had experienced several trials which had caused him more than one headache and had made him sigh for the return of Flaget. One less worry, a great relief in fact, had been the reception of the letter from Cardinal Litta advising that the words of the brief of the coadjutorship had been a mere formula, and that the Pope had dispensed any difficulties. He would not be removed from Flaget's side. The building of the Cathedral and the new seminary building on the same ground was the chief worry. Flaget had tried for some time to engage Maximillian Godefroy to design the Cathedral. Godefroy had made the plans for the chapel of St. Mary's and taught design at the college for thirteen years, so was well known to Flaget. He had been promising to do something for six years, but always, for one reason or another, evaded fulfilling the commission. When the Bishop accepted the offer of John Rogers, recently come to Bardstown from Baltimore, he was rather critical of the results, but hoped that they would suffice for the purpose. As it developed, however, both Flaget and David became more and more enthusiastic. "All the big pieces of timbers have been raised and they are beginning to cover it" at the time DuBourg arrived, and

although he criticized a few details, he, too, was lost in admiration at the project. In May, 1818, Flaget reported that "they were already working hard on the interior." In April he had hoped that it would be finished for the coming Christmas, but that proved impossible.

In the same April there was begun the foundation for the seminary building beside the Cathedral. It was to be sixty by thirty feet. While Flaget was gone, David had the embarrassment and worry of seeing work on the Cathedral halted for lack of money, as the subscribers were not paying and naturally could not be forced to do so. "We owe five to six thousand gourdes; 1000 being owed urgently" reported the agonized David. But, through the sacrifices of the people, including Rogers, who accepted produce in lieu of payments, and aided by small contributions from Bruté and other friends, the work began anew and by the time of Flaget's return, the Cathedral was ready for consecration. This pretentious building was the first cathedral west of the Alleghenies, a magnificent church for the time. It had been built of materials at hand, the great pillars were trees of the surrounding forest, shaped and polished for their place, the bricks were made by hand on the spot. Structurally today it still attests to its original soundness. Architecturally it is a combination of several styles of classical tradition. It stood then, as it does today, a magnificent symbol of religion and inspiration, *the Cathedral in the Wilderness*, mother of all cathedrals of the old Western sees.

Great preparations were made for the ceremony of consecration, which was to be carried out with all the rites prescribed by the *Pontifical*. The Bishop wished to make it as impressive and elaborate as possible. Naturally, the sermon was to be one of the central features. The consecration would proceed according to fixed formula, but the sermon was a matter of the gravest consideration in those frontier days. After anxious prayer and thought it was decided that Father David would give a short explanatory sermon at the consecration, and that the young Father Abell should give the main sermon during the Mass. Father Badin had already left for Europe, Fathers Nerinckx, Chabrat, and Ganihl were all French, hence were much less eloquent and furthermore more stolid in

address, and although Father Wilson was far more learned than Abell and just as eloquent, it was perhaps felt that the use of a secular priest would be more fitting than a Dominican for this occasion. Too, Abell was a native Kentuckian who already had made a reputation as a preacher; on several occasions he had surprised his superiors with his powers. A message was dispatched to his faraway mission, informing him of the honor, requesting his immediate presence. Not yet fully determined upon his subject when he saddled his horse for Bardstown, he thought and planned upon his solitary ride, and by the time he reached Elizabethtown he had evolved in his mind the discourse. He had barely reached his bed in that town, however, when he was awakened by a messenger who had followed him all the way from home with the news of a sick parishioner, so he had to get up and immediately go back, and then turn around to ride hard for Bardstown.

As soon as he came into the presence of David, he was asked for a copy of the sermon for the inspection of the Bishop and himself. He tried to explain to his elder that he had not time to write it down, that he knew what he would say, and that he could promise satisfaction to all. However, David felt his inexperience could not be trusted so demanded that he write out the sermon at once, for they were extremely anxious that all go well. Abell stayed in the room from noon until darkness, noting on paper the main topics for the sermon, but not attempting to write it out. That evening he came into the presence of the two, and when David asked for the manuscript so that it could be read by them that night, Abell told him that his handwriting was so bad it could not be made out, but that he would read it to them. "No objection being raised by either of my hearers, I reached over for the candlestick, placed it immediately before me, and unrolling my manuscript, made a pretense of reading. . . . I could not have seen a letter, to be sure, though the writing had been as legible as print, but that circumstance did not matter to me, and, strangely enough, neither the Bishop nor Father David appeared to take any cognizance of the anomaly. . . . Once only in the course of my performance, after the delivery of a passage I had endeavored to make peculiarly pathetic, I ventured to remove my manuscript

from before my eyes and look my mentors in the face. There they sat with their hands clasped, sobbing like children. I no longer felt that I had anything to fear from their criticism."¹³

The day before the ceremony Flaget and David moved from St. Thomas to the uncompleted building next to the Cathedral. Early in the morning of August 8, 1819, all Bardstown was on the move; strangers from faraway parishes had arrived the day before, while both Catholics and non-Catholics of the town and surrounding country were anxious to witness the affair. The Bishop in his cope and miter, preceded by Father David, the Dominicans, the other priests of the diocese, and the twenty seminarians, gave as solemn and dignified an atmosphere as could be desired. The immense crowd surging around the Cathedral might have given another stage fright, but Father Abell rose to the occasion with all the eloquence the Western frontier could require. He related the history of the church in Kentucky, recounted the vicissitudes and crosses of both priests and people, described the joy brought by the coming of the Bishop, his work for them, "the apologies of churches" which had served them in the wilderness, and the story of the sacrifices and labors that had been expended in building the Cathedral. He finally thanked "those who had enabled the Bishop to erect, in a country but lately overshadowed by interminable forests, a cathedral church that would be honorable to the Catholic faith of any people . . . where for generations to come the great sacrifice of the new law would be offered up for the living and the dead."¹⁴

A week later, on the feast of the Assumption, another exalted ceremony took place in the Cathedral, when Bishop Flaget exercised for the first time the power handed down by the Apostles, and raised to the episcopate his lifelong friend, John David, as Bishop of Mauricastro and coadjutor to the Bishop of Bardstown. The bulls of appointment had contained a clause allowing the use of priests as assistants to the Bishop; the two priests who served in this capacity were Nerinckx and Wilson. Father Chabrat had the sermon. Again, history was made, for this was the first episcopal consecration to take place in the old West, as Chabrat's had been the first ordination.

John David was a man of average height, not over five and a half feet tall, and heavy enough to find riding a horse difficult. He was deliberate of speech and retiring in manners. Of himself he once mentioned "my brusque and sometimes bitter humor," and "I am not built to be contrasted with the good, kind, easy going Mr. Tessier, his great meekness against my bad disposition stands out too much." He rarely went into society, never visited except on business. His seminarians, as well as Bishop Flaget and the Sisters of Nazareth understood and loved him, but because of his work and his own nature the general public contacted him only rarely, and then found him distant. A description of him, written by one who knew him well, shows these qualities. "With the exception, possibly, of Rev. Charles Nerinckx, Father David showed more tendency to asceticism than any ecclesiastic that has appeared in Kentucky. . . . I have no remembrance of any occasion upon which he was seen to laugh. He could smile, however, but his smiles were always for the encouragement of those who had previously laid open to him their spiritual or bodily miseries. Without being in any degree repulsive, his manners, so far as the general public was concerned, lacked the attractiveness that was so pleasing a characteristic in those of Bishop Flaget. . . ."¹⁵ In his own words he might be described as "interior." Although he lived always in a spiritual mood, he was a different man to intimates such as Flaget, Bruté, or any of his inner circle. His recreation was in the composition of church music, and one may find letters from him on this subject as far away as the archives of the see of Boston.

After his consecration, Bishop David was as unaffected as ever, and seemed to find time for even more work. He was the chief advisor to the Bishop in all diocesan matters. He not only acted as rector of the seminary, but also taught a number of classes besides theology. He was superior of the Sisters of Nazareth and generally attended their business meetings. He was pastor of the Cathedral, organist, and director of the choir. One of his passions was the Gregorian chant, another was the exact observance of the rubrics, and in the ceremonies of the church he trained his clerics thoroughly. He visited monthly four stations attached to

the Cathedral and often went out to St. Thomas Church. He heard confessions, went on sick calls, taught catechism, and performed the regular and ordinary duties of a pastor. David was perhaps the more learned of the two bishops; while Flaget was essentially a man of action and was always on the move, David remained at home at his study and books. He wrote pamphlets of controversy and piety, and although in erudition he may not have been equal to Kenrick or Spalding, his was the pen of Bardstown before their coming.

Scarcely a month passed before the Cathedral was again the scene of another ceremony, as on September 18 Bishop David performed for the first time the rites of ordination. He raised to the priesthood two men, remarkable priests in every respect, who were to add luster to the diocese, each of whom founded an educational institution. William Byrne and George A. M. Elder were close friends, but with contrasting personalities. Byrne was about thirty-nine and Elder twenty-five at ordination. Elder was tall, slim, graceful, easygoing, discreet, rather engaging, and mild mannered, another Flaget for affability; Byrne was an ascetic, seldom smiled, never laughed, almost the opposite in every way from his closest friend, Elder, and so perhaps another David.

George Elder was born in the Hardin's Creek settlement on August 11, 1794, in a home always permeated with devout Catholic practices. He attended Mt. St. Mary's while it was under Dubois' guidance, and then went over to St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, in August, 1816, for his theological studies. In November, 1818, he left, with permission, for St. Thomas Seminary to be ordained in his own diocese. He was immediately appointed to the congregation of St. Joseph Cathedral to assist Bishop David. In this September of 1819 the major seminarians were brought in to live with the two bishops in the uncompleted building which was to serve both as bishop's residence and seminary. Father Elder also made this his home. With the acquisition of a new priest, Bishop Flaget was able to put into effect another plan long before conceived. St. Joseph Seminary had cost by this time 25,000 francs [\$5,000?], and in it were twelve seminarians, some in philosophy and some in theology. Several prominent people of Bardstown had before urged

the Bishop to establish a school for the education of boys, and now the opportunity was at hand. Elder could direct it, and the seminarians could help him teach. So, in the basement of the seminary, St. Joseph's College came into existence late that fall of 1819, with boys of Bardstown as its first students. In February of 1820 Flaget wrote about this in these words, "This year, we opened a college for those in easy circumstances, and we intend to give the young men attending the institution, an education as complete as can be obtained in the colleges in France. Protestants as well as Catholics are admitted, and we trust that the cause of morality and sound doctrine will be greatly promoted thereby. We have also made a trial effort in opening a free school for poor Catholic boys who have not made their First Communion. The half of their time will be employed on work on the farm, to defray the expense of their board, and the other half in learning to read and write, and being instructed in the catechism."¹⁶

Father Elder was adept at handling boys, and enough of Bardstown's parents were so pleased to have their sons possess at least the elements of education that the basement of the seminary was soon found inadequate. The following year a separate building was deemed necessary, and toward the end of 1820 this was occupied. However, the elementary school for youngsters remained in the basement of the seminary. With the expansion of facilities boarders could be handled, and soon a few appeared. Flaget was pleased with Elder's progress, feeling he was doing a good job. In May, 1821, the Bishop noted that there were forty-two day students at this academy, and that they were "in great need of a good math teacher."¹⁷ He also stated that he had wanted to open such a school at least eight or nine years before he was able to do so. The next year students from as far as St. Louis were imported, so several boarders were being accommodated.

Meanwhile, Father Byrne had been forced into the same direction. William Byrne had been born in Ireland around 1780, one of a large family. His father died in his youth, and although he early conceived the desire to become a priest, this desire was suppressed until such time as the family could be more self-sufficient. Some time after his twenty-fifth year he had the oppor-

tunity of going to the United States. Upon his arrival here he immediately went to Georgetown College, and applied for admission to the Jesuits. After a time, he found that because of his advanced age and retarded studies it would be a long period before he might hope to reach the priesthood as a Jesuit. He therefore withdrew and went to Archbishop Carroll for advice and assistance. This prelate sent him to Dubois at Mt. St. Mary's, who gave him a position as prefect. Here he met George Elder, and the two then went over to St. Mary's for their theological studies. Elder left Baltimore in November, 1818, before Byrne's sudden departure. The Kentuckian must have often described the situation in his state, and given Byrne some enthusiasm for either the Bishop or the diocese, because it seems unlikely that Byrne left Baltimore just at the right time to meet Bishop Flaget accidentally in Pittsburgh on the Bishop's return from Detroit. Elder must have informed his friend of this, so that Byrne could be there at the precise moment, for Flaget remained in Pittsburgh but two days. Flaget must have been very happy and felt himself fortunate to get a man already in major orders. This may account for Byrne's sudden departure from St. Mary's and for his subsequent silence over his reasons for leaving.

His first appointment was to St. Charles and St. Mary's and their stations. Father Byrne's zeal and industry was crippled in many instances by the ignorance and incompetence of his parishioners, and like most men who have had to work for an education he placed a high value upon it. To see such evidences of ignorance caused him almost physical pain. Further, in the preparation of children for their First Communion, he experienced delays and frustrations because so many were unable to read their catechisms. As this became more apparent he finally, after some hesitation because he disliked the task, decided that he must establish an elementary school for boys of his region. The nuns already had a flourishing school for girls here. The Bishop was pleased with the idea, and so in the summer of 1821 St. Mary's Seminary was conceived by Father Byrne. Father Nerinckx had recently purchased a farm, about six miles from Lebanon, with some idea of founding an industrial school. However, in 1821 he was in Europe,

and no one knew whether his design would be carried out, so Flaget gave Byrne permission to take over this property. He was busily occupied during May of 1821 in changing a large distillery building into something suitable for his purpose, and it was expected that "the country school will be in operation in the month of June . . . he will have about 50 children." Flaget noted with much satisfaction that "the pope had just sent a circular to exhort the different bishops to set up similar establishments. . . . Mr. Byrne is burning with desire to devote himself to this good work." After a great deal of personal labor on the distillery and the old benches which were made to serve for the school, Father Byrne announced its opening to his congregations, and shortly he could not handle the number wishing to enroll. The cost to the parents was as low as possible and paid almost always in produce. One of his chief purposes was to give the boys enough religious education so that they might make their First Communion.

In February of 1822 there were about sixty students there, receiving some training in arithmetic, grammar, and English. He hoped to have a large number ready for their First Communion late in March, and for this event the Bishop had promised his own presence if nothing interfered.¹⁸ However, in June of this same year the building burned down "through the stupidity of a student, who caused it." The next day Father Byrne was planning another building, and it soon rose from the ashes "of brick, larger, and of better construction." Nothing daunted Byrne, and such courage was enough to cause Flaget to exclaim, "there is no priest in my diocese of whom I think more than of him."¹⁹ He was not only the president of the institution, but the sole teacher, with the exception of the brighter boys whom he trained to aid him with the lower grades. One such, at about fourteen years of age, was Martin John Spalding, the future Bishop of Louisville and Archbishop of Baltimore.

A month after the ordination of Elder and Byrne, on November 19, 1819, Bishop Flaget started out on another visitation of Indiana, accompanied by Abell. He was in New Albany on November 22 and three days later at Washington, Indiana, where there were not many more than a dozen Catholic families. From here he

went on to Vincennes, where he remained until December 6, confirming and attending to other spiritual and temporal matters. To the delight of the "American Catholics" Abell preached several times. The two returned home by way of Princeton, Evansville, and the lower part of Kentucky. They also took the occasion to visit Harmony, Indiana, then under the direction of Rapp. They returned to Bardstown on Christmas eve, and the next day the Bishop celebrated a pontifical Mass for the great feast. He had not arrived in time to witness the ceremony in which forty-one of the nuns of Loretto took their vows for life.

The following year — 1820 — was comparatively inactive for Flaget so far as traveling was concerned, for he was kept close to home as both Nerinckx and Chabrat went over to Europe on another begging tour. They left in March, traveling on horseback. A most amusing incident of the trip is related by Nerinckx to his countrymen, in a general letter, about a little accident that occurred to the two when they attempted "to surprise and make come to a standstill a little animal about the size of a small dog, entirely unknown to us, but beautiful to look at, with its striped fur and handsome tail . . . but the thing seemed to be in no hurry" and for the following two months the missionaries realized why it had settled quietly down. Chabrat went to France, and Nerinckx to Belgium, where he had to be very circumspect because of the government's attitude at this time. Although Nerinckx did not obtain anything comparable on this trip to what he had on the first, he did secure some superb paintings for the Cathedral and various religious articles for the convent and missions; he again returned with several men for the American missions, the most noted of whom was Father Peter John De Smet, whose work among the Western Indians is so well told in his own letters. Upon his return Nerinckx spent some time in Baltimore on business, and while there met Bishop John England. When he left Baltimore he had in his company three men whom he had brought from Belgium to form a new Brotherhood, as well as nine young, fervent maidens of Baltimore who wished to join the nuns of Loretto. This band arrived in Louisville in the first week of December, 1821. He found, though, that his farm purchased by him for his

Brotherhood had been given to Byrne, and although he expostulated with the Bishop, the latter was reluctant to take it away from Byrne for an unknown and untried project. However, since the Sisters of Loretto had helped Father Nerinckx in the payment for the land upon which St. Mary's stood, Flaget recompensed them by turning over the farm of St. Stephen's, formerly Badin's home. It was larger in extent, and it is doubtful that the Sisters either lost anything in the exchange or regretted it then or now. Nerinckx was disappointed, but did not wish to vex the Bishop by further argument, so gave up his project. As only one man remained, the pious Brother Gilbert, the scheme may have been profitless anyway.

Chabrat also returned in the summer of 1821, and besides the great bell for the Cathedral he brought back several postulants for the nuns of Nazareth, among them a niece of Flaget's, and a young seminarian for the diocese, Champonier. Among the postulants was the youthful widow of a Dr. O'Connor of Baltimore. She entered the community of Nazareth, taking the name of Sister Scholastica, and became the first teacher of music. Her coming was opportune as she brought with her some property and contributed enough money to extricate the community from a sudden and grave difficulty involving the possession of the land upon which their community was established. Legal ownership in it was not and could not be vested in their hands, and as the Sisters wished to build again it was thought better to secure new land. With the gift of Sister Scholastica they purchased land three miles on the other side of Bardstown, the present site. In June, 1822, some thirty-eight nuns, together with their boarders, moved to their new house, to begin anew. Among these was Eulalia Flaget, whose advent had caused the Bishop some concern. He had been pleased to hear from Chabrat of her vocation to the religious life, but could scarcely credit the belief that it was to be followed in America. However, he allowed Chabrat to make the judgment on the matter. Soon the Sisters were reconciled to the move, and new buildings became necessary at once.

While Nerinckx was disturbed by the frustration of his plans,

he was pleased to greet again his able successor, whom he had not expected again to see. Father Abell had taken so seriously ill in July of 1820 that the Bishop hastened to his distant mission in Breckinridge County to give him the Last Sacraments. Flaget despaired of his life, and wrote anxious letters to Chabrat urging his speedy return. He remained six weeks to nurse Abell and finally brought him back to health. The same fall, on September 24, he ordained a new priest for the diocese, Father Philip Horstman.²⁰ The new priest was sent temporarily to St. Thomas in place of Charles Coomes, treasurer for the minor seminary, whom Flaget had to send elsewhere. The Bishop also "ordained a deacon, three subdeacons, two minors and five tonsured."

In the beginning of the next year the Bishop ordered public prayers in the Cathedral for the triumph of the cause of Bishop David. When the priests had reached Bardstown almost ten years before there had been only two Catholics in the town. With the building of the Cathedral, the establishment of the religious institutions, and through the zeal and personality of the Bishop and his colleagues the Catholic population increased. The great progress of this religion in the vicinity, as well as in the town itself, the universal respect paid to the persons of its ministers, the success of their schools, and the fear of future progress naturally aroused the ire and envy of various Protestant divines. It would have been unusual had not there been some show of animosity on their part. One of the most vociferous of these was the Presbyterian minister, the Reverend Nathan Hall, who once in a while delighted in coming to Bardstown to attack the Catholics in their stronghold.²¹ Bishop David had been giving a series of discourses in the Cathedral upon Catholic doctrine, during which Hall came into town and announced he would expound in the courthouse on the same subject. Hall had no more knowledge of Catholicism than the ordinary frontier preacher, but used the common methods of distortion, misrepresentation, and calumny. Flaget decided David ought to answer him, so a debate was arranged. The courthouse was filled upon the occasion and for the first two hours, with great eloquence, the Presbyterian especially charged the Church with idolatry in its veneration of the saints and the use

of images. David followed for another two hours, with his more deliberate manner, quoting the fathers of the Church. He tried to force the entire question into a more simple form, but Hall made another attack and then dismissed the meeting. As David was deprived of the chance to answer the last, and in order also to present all his matter to those who had not attended the meeting, he decided to publish his defense. His pamphlet of sixty-four pages, entitled *Vindication of the Catholic Doctrine Concerning the Use and Veneration of Images, the Honor and Invocation of the Saints and the Keeping and Honoring of their Relics* was published in Louisville by S. Penn in 1821. Thereupon Hall published a *Reply*, and Bishop David then wrote, in one hundred and six pages, *Defense of the Vindication*, which was published in Lexington by James W. Palmer in 1823.

David sent a few of the copies to his friends, one going to Archbishop Maréchal and one to Bruté. Perhaps the latter still remembered David's very critical remarks about the intemperate tone of his own pamphlet against Wharton, or perhaps he simply felt it his obligation to point out a few errors on the part of David, and to discuss some fine points in the study of the Old Testament, such as the adoration of Abraham. David stated that he had written the pamphlets in great haste, at short intervals of time, so it was surprising there were no more errors. The typographical errors abounded because the printer had become very angry when David had taken the precaution to ask "a good and learned Catholic" to proofread it. He had sent it to Louisville in the first place "having here only bad printing."²² The response to these works was such that David determined to write another, which became his *Address on the Rule of Faith to the Brethren of Other Professions*, published in 1822, also by Penn of Louisville. He felt that these had made a good impression among the public and might also have had something to do with the subsequent silence of the ministers. "My minister," he chuckled, "has lost much of his vogue . . . and these ministers haven't preached anything since in the courthouse. One told an insignificant audience that he would never again come to preach there . . . asked the reason for this had declared that his last audience had consisted

of only fourteen people, and half of those were asleep." As proof that there was even within the town "a movement toward Catholicism" he noted that three families had just baptized their children, were studying the religion with evident intent to follow in the same path, that a physician was even going to follow the Dominicans to Cincinnati, and that a lawyer of high reputation and considerable means had asked Father Abell to baptize him in the most public manner possible. These various conversions caused such a stir that the Bishop considered it of enough import to report their effects for the newspapers of France.

With the firm foundation of the faith in Kentucky, the Bishop felt he could no longer delay consideration of the possibilities of bringing it to the neighboring state of Tennessee. Badin had made several trips into that state and Abell had journeyed near its borders, but Flaget himself had never found occasion to go there. During the first week of May, 1821, the Bishop determined to make a visitation to this neglected part of his diocese. He picked up Father Abell, and they reached Litchfield on May 7 and the next day were in Bowling Green where they found but five Catholics. On May 10 they reached Nashville, and here the Bishop celebrated Mass in a private home. The Bishop records that the number of Catholics here did not exceed sixty, and he estimated there were not half that number in the rest of the state.²³ Despite the small number of faithful, however, Flaget determined to attempt the building of a church, and was greatly surprised and not a little pleased to receive encouragement from the leading Protestants, who signed a subscription list with as liberal amounts as the Catholics. He reported that a lot was offered him by a Mason, and that he was given marks of esteem by Felix Grundy and other prominent citizens. Abell preached every evening in the courthouse on various doctrines of the Church and was favorably received and attentively heard. Two preachers attacked him in their pulpits, but Abell came out well; in fact, partly as a result of such an incident in Columbia, he was presented with a suit of clothes and \$200. He also preached in Franklin, Tennessee. On May 27 they left the state to return to Bardstown.

An amusing incident occurred on their way back, which is not recorded in the Bishop's *Journal*. Soon after crossing into Tennessee they had stopped at a hotel which was so filthy that an almost sleepless night was spent there. Returning through this same village the two remained that night in a hotel in the opposite end of town where everything was clean and all well ordered. Flaget was so pleased with the contrast that he complimented the hostess by comparing her cleanliness with the dirt of the other woman. The hostess replied: "What everybody says must be so, Sir. Sister Jane always was a slattern." The Bishop's face turned scarlet and not another word was heard from him until after they had saddled their horses and left the village. Then to Father Abell, inwardly shaking with mirth as they rode along the road, he delivered a lecture "on the impropriety of criticising people in the presence of strangers."²⁴

Although Abell always remained high in the Bishop's regard, there arrived that fall one who was to challenge all for the affection of the Ordinary. Flaget, some time back, had written to the Prefect of the Propaganda, asking for the services of a graduate of the College of Propaganda when one became available, in order to relieve David of his heavy burdens in the seminary. In response to this plea there arrived in Bardstown on September 23, 1821, a young priest who had not only the greatest talents, but also a better education than was possible for the Kentuckians. Father Francis Patrick Kenrick had been born in Dublin around 1796. His gentle nature, saintly character, and superior learning quickly made an impression upon the two Bishops and soon both learned to depend upon him utterly. He took over several of David's classes, and was able to lighten his load considerably. His knowledge of Hebrew, Greek, patristic literature, the classics, and every branch of ecclesiastical learning was profound. Flaget was soon regarding him as his possible and best successor.

It was to be almost another decade, however, before the young Kenrick was to join the ranks of the American hierarchy, to the almost inconsolable grief of his own Bishop, Flaget. Peculiarly, he was then to receive as his "via crucis" the position of coadjutor

in the diocese of Philadelphia, which David escaped only through the influence of Flaget, who had carried on a rather complex correspondence about this place only a short time before the arrival of Kenrick in Kentucky.

Almost from the very time DuBourg had reached his own see he and Flaget discussed the creation of new bishoprics and available candidates for them. Flaget had determined to request new sees for Detroit and Ohio. After the consecration of David, the latter, too, was brought into these consultations. The prelates were interested also in the nominations of incumbents for the Eastern sees. Flaget had no more than arrived back from his Vincennes visitation of 1819 before he was again writing DuBourg of the need of new sees at Vincennes, Detroit, and Cincinnati. The voluminous correspondence between these two and Archbishop Maréchal upon this subject had already begun some time before.

Flaget's favorite candidates were the Prince Gallitzin, with reservations, and Benedict Fenwick, S.J., without reservations. Both Western prelates at first were in agreement as to the first choice for Ohio in the person of Flaget's former student — Benedict Fenwick, the American Jesuit. Both felt that his theological learning, his preaching ability, American birth, and the help he could secure from his order made him the best choice for Ohio. For second choice, they proposed Edward D. Fenwick, cousin of Benedict, a Dominican, whose knowledge of the Catholic population of Ohio was extensive, but who had much less ability and learning than the former. For Detroit they suggested Gallitzin. In the letter to Maréchal concerning these matters, Flaget came forth with a unique, personal idea. Of the various men proposed for these sees only Gallitzin spoke German. Since there were a large number of Germans in Ohio it would be useful to have the bishop there understand this language, but as the Dominicans had labored so hard and faithfully in this state it would be unfair to pass over them in naming the bishop, and he could do little without their help; so, suggested Flaget, "let's tell Gallitzin that the bishops of America would recommend him for that place if he would join the Dominicans, if only a member of the Third Order." If Maréchal agreed to this, the name of

Benedict Fenwick could be offered for Detroit. In less than two weeks he again wrote the Archbishop urging Gallitzin, but stating that if that gentleman was adverse to the affiliation with the Order of Preachers the nomination should go to Edward D. Fenwick. Flaget had asked Fenwick for a suggestion, and the latter had offered the name of his own superior, Father Thomas Wilson. Flaget felt that Wilson had far superior intellectual powers, but as he was adverse to preaching and had physical infirmities he would be less able than Edward Fenwick.

In April of 1820, after receiving these suggestions Maréchal, evidently still unconvinced of David's necessity to Flaget, wrote to the Prefect of Propaganda in favor of the creation of the see of Cincinnati, but rejecting that of Detroit as premature. He then suggested David for Cincinnati as one bishop was enough for Kentucky, and since David was so close to Flaget the two dioceses would be on the best of terms. His second choice was Edward D. Fenwick. He wrote to Flaget informing him that Gallitzin was being considered for Philadelphia, but he did not mention his recommendation of David. However, upon receipt of another letter from Flaget, and after a personal interview with Edward D. Fenwick he again wrote to Propaganda, withdrawing David's name, and proposing, without reservations, that of Edward D. Fenwick. In reply to Maréchal's letter on Gallitzin, Flaget, on April 29, 1820, wrote that he was "pleased that Rome had taken notice of the two men who had already forced the attention of all the bishops of the United States, but as the Cardinals were unacquainted with the country as we are, it seems to me that it is the duty of each one of us to propose our views on this matter." He believed Gallitzin worthy of the episcopate, but thought that Philadelphia would not be a suitable place for him. He was an "isolated priest" and without a single confidant, his opinions could not be discussed, he would have no influence or following, and so could do nothing or very little for Philadelphia. "Don't you think as I do," inquired Flaget, "that Mr. B. Fenwick having all the Jesuit gentlemen at his heels and being so strong by himself will be a hundred times more capable of restraining these good people and making the best of it, than poor Mr.

Gallitzin . . . in a word, I am persuaded that Mr. B. Fenwick in the Carolinas, in Philadelphia, or even in New York, as Mgr. DuBourg proposed, will do much more good, not so much because of his great personal talents, as because of the important help that he will receive from his confrères." He then went on to say that both he and David were considerably perplexed that Maréchal had not considered Father Moranvillé "who has always shown such zeal and such aptitude in governing his parish and who had so recently covered himself with such glory in serving the plague-stricken people." Moranvillé was pastor of St. Patrick's in Baltimore, and Flaget felt he would do "marvelously in the Carolinas." On all these matters Flaget also wished to know the opinion of Cheverus, in whose judgment he had great confidence. He reminded the Archbishop not to neglect in his new demarcation the state of Mississippi which belonged to the Baltimore see, but which he thought by right ought to be under the administration of DuBourg. He thought Maréchal should give DuBourg his opinions on that state.²⁵

While Flaget was attending the ill Abell, another letter arrived from Maréchal, and, in the absence of the Bishop, David answered it. He informed the Metropolitan that both of them were surprised at Maréchal's consent to the division of his diocese. Both felt it ought to be made only with his consent, and in the precise manner he wished. Neither wished New Orleans rather than Baltimore as their metropolitan see. They felt that if DuBourg wanted to make an archbishopric in the West he could do so in New Orleans, and that there was time enough at some future date to consider one on the west side of the mountains. Flaget felt that Bardstown or Louisville would be a more suitable location than St. Louis or New Orleans, though neither he nor David wished it personally or at that time. On this David concluded: "I have no desire that Monsignor DuBourg be our Metropolitan. Although it will be of advantage to the Church to establish a metropolitan see in the West, it is hardly opportune at the present time."²⁶

The first notice that Rome was considering other than an American for the see of Philadelphia reached Bardstown in this month of July, 1820. David felt if this were true Gallitzin could

still be proposed for Detroit. At about the same time DuBourg wrote to Propaganda approving the creation of the two sees. As Rome had not yet heard directly from Flaget, he was asked by the Cardinal Prefect for his own opinion. On November 5, 1820, Flaget replied, stating that DuBourg had written Propaganda, proposing Edward D. Fenwick, O.P., for Cincinnati and John Grassi, S.J., for Detroit, and that both he and his coadjutor concurred in these nominations. He begged them to pass over his own Coadjutor, who was his Vicar-General and the only one he could consult. He stated that David was too corpulent to ride a horse, which would be necessary in the missions of Ohio. He also suggested that if Detroit was not made a see it ought to be joined to that of Cincinnati. All these considerations caused Flaget to declare that "it is in such circumstances that one feels the necessity of national synods, for after six or seven sessions in which all our ideas would be sifted and scrutinized we would be ten times more satisfied with our operations than we would be after fifty letters are exchanged."²⁷ But proposing national councils to the Archbishop of Baltimore was to become an unpopular pastime within a comparatively short time. With the opinions of the American bishops before them, the Cardinals of the Congregation of the Propaganda in a general assembly held on May 21, 1821, created the see of Cincinnati, with Edward D. Fenwick its first bishop. The bulls carrying this into effect were issued on June 19, 1821. So, exactly a decade after his taking over the vast territory of the Northwest, Flaget aided in its first division. Gallitzin had not wanted to be a bishop and objected to his own consideration; as he was very eccentric and had gotten into financial troubles he was excluded. Benedict Fenwick was soon selected to succeed Cheverus in Boston, on the latter's return to France.

Edward D. Fenwick, the Apostle of Ohio, was deep within the wilds of that state when news of his elevation reached Bardstown, undoubtedly through Father John A. Hill, who returned from Rome in the fall. The official bulls, received by Flaget probably late in December, 1821, were forwarded by the Bishop to the Dominicans at St. Rose, to be given to Fenwick. The latter was surprised as he had thought Father Wilson was the nominee. He

felt himself unfitted for the dignity and attempted, like Flaget, to escape the office. But the latter urged him to accept, and his superior, Father Wilson, ordered him to do so. The Dominican Superior had understood that Flaget was urging the appointment of a Frenchman for Ohio, which he felt was not for the best interests of the order. He, therefore, was delighted with the appointment and feared that one not of the order would be named if Fenwick refused. Flaget, on his part, did not want to go through the process of selection again. His original recommendation of the Bishop-elect had noted his admirable ability to make converts, his humility and zeal, and his connection with an order that could supply him with men as well as "learned counsel." With good-natured humility Flaget had also stated that if the Dominican had not as much knowledge as he ought to have for the position, at least he had as much as Flaget himself.

Before leaving St. Rose after his consecration Fenwick wrote to the Propaganda, suggesting the creation of Detroit as a see, with Benedict Fenwick as bishop; when he went to Rome he substituted the name of Father Gabriel Richard. His interest in this matter was aroused by the fact that Michigan and the Northwest had been added to his jurisdiction of Ohio. In the discussion concerning the episcopal seat of the new diocese DuBourg had urged Chillicothe, and there was some sentiment for Somerset, but Flaget was firm in the conviction that Cincinnati was the most suitable city, and Rome felt that the Kentucky prelate was in the best position to advise on this point.

On January 13, 1822, on the octave day of the feast of the Epiphany, in the Church of St. Rose, Flaget imposed his hands upon the second bishop he was to consecrate. He was assisted by the two Dominicans, Wilson and Hill. The *Mandatum* was read by Father Richard, who, since he was to be under the jurisdiction of Fenwick, had come down from Detroit for the ceremony. Bishop David preached to the congregation packing the church. As they read the Mass together, both Flaget and Fenwick must have been thrilled as they began the Introit, "*Ecce, advénit dominátor Dóminus: et regnum in manu ejus et potéstas et impérium.*" Both must have felt that God was indeed manifesting His power and

His goodness on this signal occasion. The people of Ohio, less than twenty years after the admission of that state into the Union, were to have their own bishop and clergy working particularly for their state, and in Cincinnati, the Queen City of the West, there was shortly to rise another of the cathedrals in the wilderness, another steeple exhibiting the cross of the Redemption, another pastoral staff to bring authority with meekness. Flaget could well consider this consecration as the crowning act of his decade in the episcopacy.

Nine

BENEDICT JOSEPH FLAGET was now on the threshold of threescore years, but still had some twenty-eight before him. Before his life was over he would have spent forty years in the episcopacy, over sixty in the priesthood, and eighty-seven in this vale of tears. Despite his fifty-nine years of age he was, in 1822, at the height of his power. His physical condition had not deteriorated; in fact, still at seventy-seven he was riding unbent in the saddle all over Kentucky. After ten years of pioneering in the old West, of laying the foundation of the Catholic religion and of culture and education and learning, he beheld the first division of his territory; and before the end of his life he saw it divided into eleven new dioceses, including two archdioceses. The priest who had fallen ill with a fever for weeks because he had not heard from home, who had become sick with anxiety over his own infirmities when elevated to leadership was replaced by a matured man, conscious of a spiritual strength, strengthened by the knowledge that the Spirit brings.

In the next decade of his life, the foundations were renewed, the various establishments expanded, a native priesthood grew, and the reputation of Bardstown and its bishops mounted. His fame reached Europe and Rome, and when he himself followed it on a visit, his dismay and naïveté were often aroused by finding not only masses of the French people on their knees before him, but even the hierarchy and the Supreme Pontiff eagerly awaiting his presence. He had then to fear lest pride might prevail and prayed earnestly to be delivered from its baneful effects. Never seeming to realize that he could be respected and even admired

and loved by the great as well as the humble, for his own character and powers of leadership, he always attributed public notice and adulation to the dignity of his office. Under his leadership Catholicism had become respectable in the Western democracy; Henry Clay was only one among the host of public men who fell under his spell, called him friend, visited and admired his various "establishments." Yet, although the Catholics of France and Italy expected and recorded miracles of the Patriarch of the West when he visited Europe in 1835-1839, although his was a life of complete virtue, of extreme holiness, of piety, zeal, prayer, and of constant realization of the presence of God, with it all he had the faults and idiosyncrasies of the human being, the failures which attend mortality, the weaknesses and doubts which confound even the wise if not the child. He could not reach an understanding with Badin, and yet there are two sides to every story; Badin was not self-centered even though he might have been eccentric and spiritually too harsh. Yet the two Frenchmen never became enemies for they were too big for that, and it was with veneration that the protopriest sang the *Libera* over the bier of his Bishop in 1850. Flaget protested vigorously and fought energetically against his Sulpician brothers over the removal of David and Chabrat from his side; he did not see that the loss of David was of immense importance to the Sulpicians of Baltimore who had few of his stature and whose ranks were being raided for the episcopacy.

Flaget's most notable failure of judgment was his exaggerated estimate of the ability of his "first son in Christ," Chabrat. After ten years in the priesthood, with experience as one of the pioneer priests of Kentucky, perhaps Father Chabrat was sometimes overcome by what David had feared might happen to his too easy success, pride in his own accomplishments. The "dumpy" little Chabrat, as time passed, became "opinionated," and his fellow priests found his opinions were too often set in a mold of clay. Sure-eyed and the best shot not only of the clergy but perhaps of all Bardstown, he found his delight in slipping through the woods after deer and other game. Legend has it that he often supplied the tables of the convents and seminaries with meat. Perhaps it is not just even to wonder at the fact that his most notable physical

faculty, his eyesight, was that which failed him first and finally caused his retirement from a coadjutorship that satisfied no one except the Bishop. But, aside from such errors of judgment, can Flaget be blamed for a too zealous concern for his own diocese? Can it be said that he should not have fought against any weakening of his own diocese when he felt that a reckoning would be demanded of his stewardship, that all the talents would be required?

At the dinner given after his consecration Bishop Fenwick spoke with some concern on the needs of his new diocese and the lack of workers. His moving address and sad state brought a response from two of those present. Father Ganihl and Vincent Badin, then a deacon, asked Bishop Flaget for permission to join the Bishop of Ohio. Before leaving for Cincinnati Fenwick ordained four young Dominicans but recently arrived from Europe. Two young men studying under Ganihl, John B. Hutchins and Charles D. Bowlin, stepbrothers, also followed him out of the diocese. Vincent Badin was ordained by Fenwick a few days after his arrival in Cincinnati on Holy Saturday, April 6, 1822.¹ He thus became the first priest to be ordained in Ohio, as his older brother had been the first in the United States. Hutchins was the first to receive the tonsure from Bishop Fenwick but finally returned to Bardstown where he became so important to the college that his studies for the priesthood were delayed to such an extent that he was not ordained until 1838. Meanwhile, his stepbrother, Bowlin, joined the Dominicans.

Bishop Fenwick had made it a condition for acceptance of the miter that Father Wilson would accompany him as vicar-general. With these also went Father Hill and two of the newly ordained. Before long Father Wilson, the Dominican Provincial, ordered three more priests to Ohio.² St. Thomas College, established by the Dominicans about 1809 had been closed by this time, and the Dominicans now began to consider the advisability of either completely leaving Kentucky for Ohio or else using St. Rose simply as a novitiate. The order for the transfer of the last three men may have given some notice of all this to Flaget. Confronted with the almost complete abandonment of St. Rose, he reacted as might have been expected and, after having voiced his opposition

to Wilson, wrote in protest to Cardinal Consalvi. The Cardinal then ordered, in July 1822, the Provincial to divide his forces among the two Bishops. Father Wilson soon afterward resigned as vicar-general and returned to Kentucky; Father Hill remained as vicar-general in Ohio. Although he may not have felt that the Cardinal had competence in the matter the Provincial decided to follow the order.

It certainly is not difficult to understand why Flaget opposed this weakening of his own clerical forces, which were still pitifully meager. In addition to Bishop David, he had only Nerinckx, Chabrat, Derigaud, Abell, Coomes, Elder, Byrne, Horstman, and De Parcq. He had seminarians for the future, indeed, but he had had to start from nothing with far greater territory and fewer priests. To Fenwick he had also given two priests and two seminarians besides the Dominicans. Furthermore, he was to lose three more of his priests within two years. There is no reason, then, to feel that he should have looked with equanimity upon the departure of all the Dominicans.³ Nor is it particularly strange that Flaget should have been irked when Bishop Fenwick, late in 1824, began to apply pressure to transfer the young Kenrick from Bardstown over to Cincinnati. Bishop Flaget had long needed a man to aid David, and in Kenrick he had found one who was not only wholly satisfactory but even beyond his dreams. Kenrick had scarcely made his presence felt when his loss was threatened. Flaget had been through this twice before, and he rightly felt that Fenwick should not expect to avoid the hardships and trials of establishing a diocese; indeed, it was only after an extremely difficult ten years that he himself was in a more favorable position than Fenwick. At the beginning of his episcopate he had far more to face than had the Bishop of Cincinnati. Kenrick himself very nicely stated the problem in reply to an urgent request of Father Résé that he come to Cincinnati, when he, among other things, pointed out that "notwithstanding the number of Priests in this Diocese, and the flourishing state of Religion, the exertions of us all are highly necessary, since the harvest is so great; and the attempt to establish your new Diocese by withdrawing any of the Labourers might ultimately prove fatal to the interests of the

Church. Several have already been yielded by the Convent of St. Rose, and it is likely to experience long the effects of the Sacrifice. You will have certainly great difficulty in supplying all the Spiritual wants of the vast Province, and establishing the useful Institutions you propose erecting; but this must be expected in new Dioceses, and you must be prepared to struggle with patience and await the gradual advancement of your infant Diocese. To attempt great establishments all at once is to act contrary to the ordinary course of grace, no less than nature. . . ."⁴ In his anxiety to meet his needs Bishop Fenwick overstepped the bounds of propriety in first trying to attract the young priest with the offer of the coadjutorship, and then in trying to persuade Rome to bring about the same object, without the permission or even consultation of Flaget. Naturally, that prelate could be expected to remonstrate strongly and to speak out against such actions. Before this attempt to secure Kenrick took place the Dominican Bishop had conferred with Flaget, in January, 1823, on his problem in Ohio and the mission of the Northwest. The new Bishop was so appalled by his responsibilities that he decided to go to Rome, there either to obtain help or else to tender his resignation. He had not been happy in authority once before for he had resigned as superior of the American Dominicans in order to become a simple missionary priest, in which situation he was much happier. He left in May, 1823, and spent the rest of the year in Europe. There he obtained for the American missions Father Raphael Muños, Frederick Résé, and Samuel C. Mazzuchelli. Fenwick arrived in Europe only to learn of the death of the Supreme Pontiff, Pius VII. On September 26 the Bishop was in the Eternal City, and two days later a new pope was elected by the College of Cardinals.

The conclave which resulted in this election had been of four weeks' duration and of a stormy character. The election had been a compromise; the Liberal and Conservative factions had reached a stalemate over their own selections, as spiritual matters were subordinated to the problems of the Papal States, and Cardinal Annibale della Genga was the best available candidate. He was crowned the first week in October, taking the name Leo XII. The Cardinal had protested his own elevation, and his policies

in the government of the Papal States during his six short years satisfied few. Leo XII was a handsome man, of noble bearing, magnanimous, kindly, and well-intentioned. He made reforms within the framework of the spiritual government, trying to bring about a complete revival of the spiritual life of the Church, setting an example in his own private life. He attempted to reform the congregations and to watch closely their proceedings. His encyclicals reflected the tone of his pontificate; he warned against religious indifference leading to atheism, the bible societies, and especially secret societies. The encyclical against secret societies was particularly directed against the Carbonari and Freemasons, who were undermining the faith of the young. He suppressed the power of the Italian brigands. Although he was not interested in political or diplomatic matters he maintained good relations with the powers. Finally, he proclaimed the Jubilee of 1825 which had such an important effect in the Kentucky diocese. During his brief pontificate Rosati, Portier, Dubois, and Benedict Fenwick of Boston were raised to the episcopate.

The decade of the twenties was to be somewhat difficult and unsettled for the Catholic Church in the United States. The nomination of foreign bishops to American sees still continued to disturb the American hierarchy. In part, the fault again lay with the Archbishop of Baltimore. On several occasions, despite plentiful native talent, Maréchal stated that he had no American priests to nominate for American sees, and on his visit to Rome in 1822 he seems to have failed to present his case concerning nominations to sees properly. He had been very upset in 1820 when two new Southern sees were created, with Irish bishops nominated, in the persons of John England for Charleston and Patrick Kelly for Richmond. Propaganda seems to have taken this step because of the troubles in the South which threatened to lead to the establishment of an independent Catholic Church there. Within two years the see of Richmond was suppressed, and Bishop Kelly returned to Ireland. John England arrived in America in the last days of the year 1820 to begin at Charleston that great career which was to make him one of the foremost prelates in the history of the American Church. Bishop Cheverus, in 1823, was transferred to a diocese of

France, and Bishop Connolly of New York died. To these vacant sees Rome accepted the nominations made by Flaget, David, Fenwick, and Maréchal. For New York Maréchal consecrated, on October 29, 1826, John Dubois of Mt. St. Mary's, the old friend of Flaget and David. For Boston the Archbishop consecrated on November 1, 1825, Benedict Fenwick, S.J., the former student of Flaget. Fenwick was the fourth native American to be elevated to the episcopacy, and the nineteenth bishop in the United States hierarchy. The erratic course of Bishop DuBourg concerning the division of his vast territory and proper incumbents confused and perplexed Propaganda. Finally, after several conflicting proposals and actions, Rome settled the question by the appointment of Joseph Rosati as coadjutor to DuBourg and the creation of the new diocese of Alabama-Florida. Rosati was consecrated in March, 1824, but at the end of three years he was to become bishop of either St. Louis or New Orleans, DuBourg being given first choice of the two sees. Thus Rosati became first bishop of St. Louis. In 1826 a young priest, Michael Portier, was consecrated for the Florida-Alabama territory. (DuBourg had not approved of the latter selection, nor had he approved of Dubois for New York or Fenwick for Boston.) So, during this decade, there was one archbishop and ten bishops. These were Flaget, senior bishop; David, his coadjutor; Fenwick of Boston; Conwell of Philadelphia; Dubois of New York; Fenwick of Cincinnati; England of Charleston; Rosati of St. Louis; DuBourg of New Orleans; and Portier of Mobile, Alabama. Of these the two Fenwicks were native Americans, Maréchal, Flaget, David, Dubois, DuBourg, Portier were French, and England was the lone Irishman while Rosati was the only Italian.

The most troublesome item, however, disturbing the peace of the American Church was the condition in the diocese of Philadelphia where, under the inept hand of Bishop Conwell, there occurred the most troublesome of the trustee affairs and the infamous scandal of the Hogan schism. Although Bishop Conwell unfairly accused Bishop England of meddling in this unfortunate episode, its proportions assumed such magnitude that practically every prelate took some part in it. Both Flaget and David did so.

Bishop Henry Conwell on December 2, 1820, took possession of the see of Philadelphia, six years having elapsed since the death of its first bishop. However, instead of his presence bringing an end to uncertainty in Philadelphia, there began one of the most indecent episodes in American Church history. In less than two weeks the Bishop withdrew the faculties of one of the troublesome priests, Father William Hogan, and the vicious decade-long Hogan schism began. Hogan's removal caused repercussions among some of his lay friends, and, before long, the Hogan party was attacking the "Bishopites." The Hogan party then issued pamphlet after pamphlet, claiming among other rights that of electing their own pastors. Bishop England actively entered the fray, and was libeled by Hogan. Bishop Fenwick of Cincinnati and Richard of Detroit likewise failed to make any headway in bringing peace. In 1824 the heretic, Hogan, preached in Protestant churches in North Carolina and married a young Southern widow there. His departure did not bring peace to the distracted diocese, nor did the appointment of a coadjutor to the aged Conwell solve everything, but the trouble after that was caused mostly by the senility of Conwell and was personal in nature.

Flaget found himself involved as had John England on one occasion; that is, Bishop Conwell used a private letter of both without authorization or previous warning. Flaget was astounded to learn that one of his letters to the Bishop of Philadelphia had been printed in Conwell's *Sundry Documents Addressed to St. Mary's Congregation* (1821). Flaget felt that his letter to Conwell had contained nothing worth printing, as he had only told Conwell that he ought not to have recommended Hogan to him, even for the purpose of getting him out of the diocese of Philadelphia into that of Bardstown. Flaget also wrote Hogan a letter castigating the unruly priest for his conduct. The Bardstown Bishop later said of the affair "it is lucky Hogan had not entered this diocese as the vastness of the territory might have resulted in victory for the priest as I would not have been able to have visited that man."⁵ At various times both Flaget and David wrote to Rome concerning Philadelphia.

Another matter outside the diocese of Bardstown which con-

cerned the two Bishops was the long-standing question of the relation between Mt. St. Mary's at Emmitsburg and the Sulpician house at Baltimore. This involved Bruté and Dubois on the one hand and the Sulpician assembly at Baltimore on the other. As late as 1821 Flaget was still complaining that the superiors of St. Sulpice in Paris had not added his seminary to their society's establishments. He still felt it merited "this name more than that of Baltimore." Dubois, Bruté, and Hickey were constantly fighting against heavy odds in their conduct of Mt. St. Mary's. The Sulpicians felt they could not maintain both the college at Emmitsburg and that at Baltimore. After 1820, in order to obtain teachers for the college, philosophy and theology were taught to students unable to pay their own expenses at Baltimore, and in return these students taught in the college. So, the men at Mt. St. Mary's were maintaining together a college and a seminary. Maréchal was reluctant to allow this but had to accept the situation. However, despite the fact that Bruté went to Europe in 1825 personally to plead the cause of Emmitsburg, Mt. St. Mary's was crossed off the Sulpician list of houses, and in 1826 both Bruté and Dubois were out of the Society. Maréchal had reported before to Propaganda that Bruté was not exactly prone to prudence and wisdom but was rather impetuous. Even earlier Flaget and David had expressed the same sentiment in writing to the Propaganda. In discussing the creation of a new diocese of Alabama-Florida, and the desirability of a coadjutorship for New Orleans, the two observed that of the two candidates proposed, Dr. Rosati was their first choice as he possessed in an eminent degree every necessary qualification. Of Bruté they mentioned that he was very dear to them as a friend, had eminent learning and piety, "however, he lacks prudence, the first quality of a bishop."⁶ Flaget and David almost always sided with their friend, Bruté, on these matters, but it must be realized that they were generally receiving mostly his biased accounts and that they naturally were prejudiced against both Maréchal and the Sulpicians of St. Mary's because of their own past bitter experiences. In 1821, when Dubois was proposing several schemes for producing stability at Mt. St. Mary's, Flaget felt that the plans were so far beyond his own conception

that he neither knew what to say or think about them. He expressed the wish that Dubois would leave his establishments entirely in the hands of the Archbishop with full power to dispose of men for the greatest welfare of his diocese. In that case any archbishop ought to be happy to have such a corps in reserve and this scheme would be of mutual benefit. "Let my dear Dubois and company come to Kentucky or Tennessee and he will see how well we understand each other and how everything would go according to his desires and mine," tempted Flaget.⁷

As early as 1820 Flaget had heard that Bruté had left the Society, although he confessed that it was only a vague rumor he had received. However, he had assured Bruté that if the rumor were true he felt that the latter must have had good reason for it, and that the action must have been in accord with Bruté's conscience and his confessor's. He also expressed the feeling that the flourishing condition of the college, after its separation from Baltimore, was proof that Dubois had been fighting for justice.⁸ However, one has the suspicion that Bruté did not keep the Bardstown men completely informed, that he certainly did not inform them properly of the other side of the question, for the final separation seems to have been somewhat of a shock to the Kentuckians. David expressed to Bruté the sadness of the two over the separation, which he felt would have no good consequences. They felt that even holy enterprises must be in conformity to the Divine Will, but that there might be some doubt of that conformity when not approved by superiors. Both ardently desired that there be no break between Baltimore and Emmitsburg. David maintained that the administration of at least the property at Emmitsburg should be taken over by the Sulpicians, and he thought it reasonable that theology not be taught at the Mountain, and he was doubtful about the propriety of teaching philosophy there. He was convinced that there was no analogy to his own case of resistance to Tessier, because it was evident that those orders were contrary to those of the Superior-General who had told him to stay with Monsignor Flaget until he was no longer necessary to him, and then had also stated that if Flaget established a seminary he was to remain with him to conduct it. Of his own

position David finally said, "I would have sacrificed everything rather than to give up a society where God had called me, and to which I cling by my deepest roots." David hoped that Flaget could write both Tessier and Dubois to the effect that some moderation and a few reasonable concessions from both sides would allow matters to be arranged in a way that would benefit the Church. In these observations David actually was placing himself in the position of those in Baltimore. Had the Bishops of Bardstown all the facts of the case before them all the time it is entirely conceivable they would have been less sympathetic to the stand of those at Mt. St. Mary's. Time, of course, has proven that no permanent harm came from the separation, that both institutions could continue to serve the archdiocese with profit and fidelity, so David's worst fears were not realized. When he finally understood that the separation was definite he was completely aghast and could not reconcile himself to the move. In this he was also expressing the mind of Flaget. David told Bruté that it seemed to him the division must have pleased Satan; his final word was: "I can hardly convince myself, however, that it could not be subject to deliberation again and that there would not be a way of reuniting the two houses. I find our gentlemen's request reasonable as long as they, on their side, do what they must do for the House of the Mountain. Neither can I disapprove of Msgr. the Archbishop's plan to turn that house into a college and minor preparatory seminary like our seminary of St. Thomas here. I shall ask Msgr. to give you his ideas which are much wiser and clearer than mine. Before God I can't reconcile myself to the idea of that separation."⁹

During this decade the two men were also drawn into another facet of Bruté's interest in scholarship, although even without their mutual friend, the Bardstown Frenchmen undoubtedly would have become interested in the career and writings of Félicité Robert de Lamennais. Both men tried to keep up with the current literature, and occasionally Bruté sent them books coming from France. After David had finished reading the current Catholic best seller by the popular but brilliant Vicomte Joseph de Maistre, *Du Pape*, he declared it to be "one of the best books which I have ever

read and I don't believe that I ever read one with more interest." He also immediately read its sequel, *De l'Église Gallicane*, and was then reading the same author's *Les Soirées de Saint Pétersbourg*, but he found this lacked much of the interest of the others. It contained a principle which he did not know was admitted "that all poor constitutions or sickness was supposed to be a punishment for sin, but that which points out the improbability of this theory is the state of pure nature." He had not yet gotten around to the reading of the writing of De Lamennais as it had not seemed to contain anything that might be of value to him for his pamphlets. Flaget had read De Lamennais' current work, but was so saddened by the picture drawn that David was reluctant to tackle it.¹⁰

Gallicanism had succeeded Jansenism in France; the former was actually the establishment of a National Church nominally subject to Rome, but in reality controlled by the State. This was Napoleon's plan, and although his disasters to a certain extent prevented the extreme approach which he would have followed, the Restoration, nevertheless, allowed Gallicanism to continue and even flourish. De Maistre, De Bonald, and De Lamennais conducted a vigorous campaign against both Jansenism and Gallicanism. The picture presented by De Lamennais, especially on the condition of the Church in France and of education in the seminaries, caused Flaget great sorrow and concern. The two Bishops followed with interest the career and work of De Lamennais until his condemnation in 1832, although both were at times disturbed by the violent tone of his attacks.¹¹

This erratic and energetic man had appeared in the French literary sky with the suddenness of an exploding comet, and seemed destined by the Almighty to become a mighty intellectual leader, a savior of French religion, a mighty host against the long-victorious godless Gallican philosophers. Yet, unknown to himself and his admirers, he carried within himself the cancerous germ of an untrained mind almost entirely molded without guidance and counsel. He had read avidly, but with neither discretion nor selection, in his uncle's library. His brother, Jean-Marie, who was to become famous in another direction, had been a priest since 1804, so Félicité followed in his steps, although with considerable

misgivings, and was ordained in 1817. Late that same year he published his first *Essai sur l'indifférence en matière de religion* and the entire Catholic intellectual world thrilled with joy and with hope. No such champion of religion since Bossuet aroused like pride and expectation. He was hailed in pulpits as the greatest thinker since Malebranche. Within a few weeks 40,000 copies of his work were sold. Not content with attack on irreligion, he tried to offer a positive approach, and the second volume of his essays, published in 1820, contained his new philosophic system by which he expected to bring about this result. This, however, revealed his lack of proper training, for he was not a philosopher and he was soon involved in controversy over it. Briefly stated, his system maintained that certitude cannot be given by the individual reason, but is guaranteed by the universal consent of mankind, which he labeled the common sense. He further stated that certitude is not created by evidence but by the authority of mankind, so it is a matter of faith in the testimony of the human race, and not the result of free inquiry. He was, to a limited extent, following in the steps of De Bonald. His system had its inherent weaknesses as was at once seen, and later practically admitted by himself in his own attempts to clarify and change it. Religious faith was subordinated to this common faith and skepticism could be advanced by the denial of the validity of individual reason, for the general or common sense is the total of individual reason.

The emotions of both Flaget and David were quickened by this champion of religion in their beloved France. They saw in him the great figure commanding the winds of disbelief to be still, the waves of heresy to recede from the shores of Catholic France. Too, he was the admiration of the scholarly, learned Bruté. So, although somewhat perplexed, they at first accepted the outline of his philosophic system. Concerning this David told Bruté, "I was telling Monsignor that from reading his [De Lamennais'] books he somewhat disturbed our logical ideas on the principles of instinctive evidence in which I had always believed that each man was infallible, and that I could clearly see now that each man, isolated from the rest of man, that is, each particular reason isolated

from other reasons, remains subject to error. . . . I was telling Msgr. of the desire to have for the seminary the logic taken from that basis formed on the principles developed in the works of that excellent author, and I added that no one was more in the position of expounding than the one to whom God had given such great lights on such an interesting subject. I was greatly surprised when Msgr. assured me that he not only had the same thoughts and the same wishes as I but that he had even already written to M. De Lamennais himself and now I just learned from Mr. Martial that in the time when Msgr. communicated those thoughts to M. De Lamennais a writer who had the same principles had put them in the form of a catechism of common sense which was the very same idea of Msgr. Flaget. I would very much like to have that catechism especially if it were translated into English.”¹²

A few years later, in 1832, David admitted that although he had been persuaded for a long time that God had raised De Lamennais up for the support of his Church and the defense of the Catholic faith, and that although he himself had read his works with singular pleasure, including the major part of that on the institution of the episcopacy as well as several articles of his new *Miscellanea*, nevertheless the exposition of his fundamental doctrines did not always seem very clear to him. He had not then seen any of the numbers of De Lamennais' paper, *L'Avenir*. David felt that De Lamennais' doctrines had a subtlety “at least for me, which my old head has trouble penetrating, because many times I have to read over again the same phrase.” Too, he thought that De Lamennais' great enthusiasm for liberty was scarcely proper for France, but better fitted for the United States. Being unimpressed by the judgment of some of the French bishops, it was not surprising to David that they “pursue beyond all measure the writer who has so smartly refuted them. Their attachment to the Gallican doctrine makes them say several times absurdities which they don't perceive.”¹³

Within a year or so De Lamennais' violent tones, as well as his doctrines, caused an appeal to the judgment of the Holy See and his writings on certain lines were condemned. The French writers and many of the bishops were enraged by De Lamennais' assaults

and pushed their own refutation rather vindictively at Rome. With some discretion on both sides it seems possible that the final condemnation need not have been made. However, Félicité did not have the piety of his brother, and was of a proud nature. He, therefore, soon withdrew from the Church and died an apostate. So, mainly through pride, the brilliant career of one hailed such a short time before as a defender of the faith came to a checkered end. His final actions profoundly shocked Bruté, David, and Flaget. David told Bruté:

You are mistaken if you believe me to be attached to the person of M. De Lamennais, and to the principles of his *L'Avenir* which I have never read. I have read nothing but about his trial; that is, the principles which he therein purposes and the two pleadings for them. I find in all this much exaggeration and enthusiasm. It is hard for me to understand fully all the principles which are therein expounded. In it I approve absolutely only perfect submission to the judgment of the Holy See. His opponents seem to proceed against him with a very lively zeal and also much bitterness, I fear. Like you I venerate the French episcopate but I cannot venerate or admit the principles of Gallicanism. Like you, I esteem the "discussion amicale," and made a great use of it in my *Defense of the Vindication* and against the *Reply of Hall*, but I condemn with all my soul the principle which he propounds (I believe twice) that one can know that the Pope has spoken, *ex cathedra* only by the consent of the bishops. Of what consent does he speak? Express or tacit? How is it known? How long must one wait? For after all, news must be obtained from all parts of the world. . . . I believe very sincerely and very firmly that it is on the contrary by the decree *ex cathedra* that the consent of the bishops of the world is known; for it is in that chair, according to the judgment of St. Irenaeus, that the bishops of the Catholic world, who are everywhere, conserve the true tradition of the faith.¹⁴

David's writings, however, were apologetical and works of piety rather than philosophical or theological. Kenrick wrote a beautiful work on theology, and it was said that Father Wilson wrote an extensive treatise on theology suitable for use in American seminaries, but through notions of humility destroyed it entirely before his death. David wrote his three works, occasioned by the attacks of Hall, during an active ministry and teaching, and so he felt

they had weaknesses and repetitions that were unavoidable. He felt a more practiced pen than his was needed, but acted under obedience to the Bishop. He often took the advice of Bruté and used excerpts the latter sent him. Working at a second address on infallibility, he asked Bruté to send him anything the latter might have on the subject. In his *Rule of Faith* he made generous use of Letter IV of Cotton's *Discussion Amicale*, and intended to use Letter V in his later work. Of this work he said, "I plan to prove infallibility first independently by the authority of Sacred Scriptures, as well as the nature and constitution of the Church of Jesus Christ and the purposes which He had in mind in establishing it. I plan to show clearly how the teaching Church transmitted revealed truths from generation to generation, then I shall prove infallibility from Scriptures."¹⁵ Like most authors David waited impatiently for the proofs, and with the hope that the printers would use all their art to the best effect. Unfortunately though, the printers of Bardstown and Louisville were not trained under Bruce Rogers; David was especially disgusted with the work of the printers of Bardstown. These works came from his pen during the years between 1820 and 1823 and his *Catechism of Christian Doctrine* appeared in 1825. After the publication of his *Reply to Hall* there was some prospect of his retirement from the seminary so that he could write at leisure in defense of religion. Both the Archbishop and Bishop England approved and advised this, but he could not be spared.

Despite Maréchal's opinions Flaget really needed David, and although he might have been very useful to the Sulpicians in Baltimore he was essential to Flaget in Bardstown. Actually, even had he returned to Baltimore it is almost certain he would have been removed from there to a bishopric. And as David was necessary to Flaget, so Kenrick was necessary to David during this decade in which the young priest served the diocese of Kentucky. Even with Kenrick taking over much of his teaching load in the seminary and in St. Joseph's College, David still was never at rest. He gave a great deal of his time to the Sisters at Nazareth. There was a certain increase in the clerical force periodically, but losses kept the total almost constant for some time.

Although Flaget's need of priests was continuous he did not allow this to influence his judgment to the point where he might have turned a wolf like Hogan among his flock, as the incident of the "ringed priest" illustrated. Just after Fenwick's consecration there appeared in Louisville a certain priest, named Carroll, who requested faculties for a period, that he might minister to the faithful of that city. At this time there was no resident priest there, and Flaget could have well used him. But he was uneasy in his mind about the character of the man, for he had heard rumors about his personal habits. Flaget's reaction to him was a revealing example of his concern for both priest and people. Flaget told him that uniformity in a diocese was the mainspring of discipline and order, so he wished him to see if he could adapt himself to their rules and labor in the spirit with which all the rest were animated. Therefore, he was to come out to the seminary, live and eat with him and David and the seminarians so that they could tell him of the manners and customs of the people and learn if his practice would suit the country. He quoted to him a decree of 1628 of the Sacred Congregation of Rites which prohibited to priests the wearing of rings, and in alluding to an unfavorable impression the priest had already created, observed, "Your short dress, your gold ring, and your ruffles were for them subjects of great surprise . . . no clergyman in my diocese ever appeared before them in such attire. . . . There was nothing in your appearance that reminded her [the landlady] of what she had seen in me and my priests. She wondered, too, that you had so few prayers to say . . . since all the other priests [spent] . . . an hour or two in prayer and meditation, and in reading their breviaries."¹⁶ However, the wandering priest would not think of making a retreat and going out to the seminary, but "went back up the Ohio." David later mentioned that the news which they heard about him from different quarters did not give them reason to regret his departure. There were at this time two other transient priests serving in the diocese for about a year, both being placed at Holy Cross. One, a Mr. Butler remained only about six months, and the other, O'Bryan, mentioned several times by David as traveling with Flaget on trips around Bardstown, was removed after a year because of

mental illness. He recovered but left the diocese. Both these men were exemplary priests and caused no unfavorable comment.

One might be excused for wondering if the Carroll episode had any bearing on the decree issued by the Bishop this year that the clergy should have an annual retreat, at the close of which conferences were to be held on sacerdotal matters. The first conference following this decree was held the next year, beginning on August 5, 1823. Regulations were then adopted for the uniform administration of the sacraments, and other subjects were discussed. The proceedings and rules were not published. At this conference Bishop David made a vivid impression upon the young clergy by a public and contrite apology for certain expressions of impatience which he had manifested before a few of them.

The same year, 1822, that had given the Church of the West another bishop in Fenwick, also witnessed several events of more than ordinary interest. On September 21, there was raised to the priesthood by David another of the priests of the diocese who was to serve the people faithfully and well for over sixty years, to become a legend of later generations. Elisha J. Durbin was a native Kentuckian, born in 1800. He entered the Seminary of St. Thomas in 1817 and, as was customary, spent half the time in labor and the other half in study. For a year after ordination he remained at St. Joseph's Seminary and the Cathedral, assisting there. Because of his diffidence Durbin made no immediate impression upon the people. An old non-Catholic general accosted him one day shortly after his ordination with the words, "Your people tell me, Durbin, that you can't preach." His attempt at a sermon in the Cathedral some time after this incident proved the point, for the young man had scarcely begun before he lost track of his subject, and after a few stammering sentences he retired in confusion from the pulpit. Perhaps the presence of the General in the church added to his dismay. In time, however, the people came to appreciate his devotion to duty, his love of the ministry, and his constant labors in their behalf. After his year at the Cathedral, he was sent to the distant missions of Union County, and there rode over that vast extent of territory to the Tennessee borders. Soon his missionary labors became a consolation

to Flaget and a legend to the Catholics of hundreds of miles.

Although Flaget gained one priest he lost another. During this year an epidemic of typhoid fever raged so violently in Louisville as to earn for the city the title of "Graveyard of the West." One fifth of the population was supposed to have succumbed to the disease. Since there was no priest in the city, the Bishop sent Father Philip Horstman, a young man of some promise, to minister to the sick. He was so zealous in his charity that he soon caught the fever. He was brought into the house of devout Catholics, the James Carroll's, who sent word to the Bishop. Flaget hurried to Louisville, administered the last Sacraments and tried to help the Carrolls in nursing him. On October 30, 1822, the priest died. Carroll himself was attacked by the fever and also passed away. The Bishop attempted to preach at the funeral of Father Horstman in St. Joseph's Cathedral but was so overcome with grief that he had to desist. Mrs. Carroll, whose Spanish lineage was faintly perceptible in her dark beauty, was also prostrated but lived for two more years. The two orphaned girls, Margaret and Esther, were then placed as boarding students at Nazareth and Loretto. Some time after her graduation at Loretto Esther came over to Nazareth, and was admitted as a postulant, becoming Sister Sophia. In the meantime, the beautiful Margaret, fair of skin, blue-eyed, pleasant voiced, and highly intelligent, was graduated, and immediately afterward entered Nazareth as Sister Columba. She became one of the best known of the superiors of Nazareth, holding that office during the Civil War. The year after Horstman's death, Abell went to Louisville as permanent pastor, and Durbin was sent in his place. Abell began a renovation of religion in the city, attracting by his eloquence almost as many Protestants as Catholics to his church of St. Louis, then at Tenth and Main Streets.

Another native Kentuckian was also raised to the priesthood in this period. Ignatius A. Reynolds, a future American bishop, had been born in Nelson County in 1798. He entered the seminary in Kentucky, but revealed such natural abilities that David felt he ought to be sent to St. Mary's in Baltimore for his theological studies. He had been teaching the humanities in St. Joseph's College before his departure for Baltimore, and Kenrick took over

his classes.¹⁷ On October 24, 1823, he was ordained by Archbishop Maréchal, and then hurried back to Bardstown. Father Reynolds was profoundly conscious of the duties and dignity of the priesthood, and attempted always to live up to that dignity in word and deed. Naturally reserved, he was often regarded as cold and unfeeling, but his friends and the poor and unfortunate could attest to the falsity of this opinion.

Seven months before Reynold's ordination, another one had taken place in the Kentucky Cathedral, as the student Chabrat had brought back from France with him was ordained on March 20. John Leo Champonier two months later was sent to Vincennes to become the first resident priest from Bardstown to be placed there. In the fall the Bishop followed him to Vincennes in order to make arrangements for his proper support and to see how he was doing. He took Father Abell with him, visiting also the missions in lower Kentucky, as well as two French settlements on the Wabash River. He passed through Washington, Indiana, as well as Mt. Pleasant, where he confirmed thirty-four persons. While at Vincennes he preached every Sunday afternoon, and tried to arrange for a school. He returned from this visitation in October, 1823.¹⁸

Champonier was not in Vincennes long before dissatisfaction began to be manifested. Certain parishioners regarded "this young clergyman as an arbitrary and overbearing despot." However, of them Flaget sadly noted, "those . . . are in general nothing but nominal Catholics. They visit their church on Sundays through curiosity and care nothing or very little for the instructions they hear. They never or very seldom appear in the tribunal of penance and do not partake of the sacred body and blood of Jesus Christ. . . . These very people . . . because they are checked by their priest for their irregular conduct, for their improper discourses, for their laziness, for their fondness for pleasures and dissipations, not being able to impeach his character, wishing at the same time to hurt his feelings and turn him out of the congregation if they can; they pretend the greatest zeal for the rules and statutes of the charter, for the temporalities of the Church; but to a reflecting man, resentment and revenge are the groundwork of all their

steps and their clamours, and they care for the glory of God and the good of their church no more than I care for the dust of my shoes."

Flaget knew that Father Champonier was a disinterested young man and a most sober one, zealous in fulfilling the sacred functions of his ministry, esteemed and even beloved by the better people of his congregation. The Bishop felt the malcontents simply wanted to vex their priest and so get rid of him and "his troublesome visits, sharp scoldings and fatherly admonitions." They had appealed to the civil tribunal, and, although not a Catholic, Judge Badolet asked the Bishop for guidance in the affair. Flaget was particularly distressed because he thought a party spirit was beginning to break out in the congregation that might terminate as had that of Philadelphia in the most scandalous scenes and a deplorable schism, although he knew Champonier was not another Hogan. The Bishop was most sad that his beloved Vincennes was causing this trouble, for as he told Badolet, he would never contend with anybody "but much less with children I have raised." The Canadians of Vincennes were in general too illiterate to discuss properly any matter whatever, and once they had embraced a sentiment they were too hotheaded to listen to reason, Flaget told the magistrate. He warned the parishioners of Vincennes that if he had to remove Champonier he would have no replacement available, and if the priest left so would the Sisters, as they would never consent to remain if they were deprived of the sacraments. The Bishop felt that a solution could be reached by resigning to the legislature the charter of incorporation so that the management of church property would be restored to the same status "as it was in my time." He felt that the majority of the congregation would give up the charter with the greatest pleasure as it had only resulted in quarrels and dissensions. He pointed out that according to a principle of law a privilege may be used or rejected at the will of the one in whose favor it was granted; that a charter of incorporation was certainly a privilege, so could be used or refused by the privileged party. Although some inconveniences would result from the suppression of the charter, he felt more would be avoided. His only wish was to obtain peace, and he was pained that he had "to tell of my children before a magistrate of another

persuasion," for he felt that his dear children of Vincennes could have spared him this trial.¹⁹

That the proposal was not carried out is attested by the fact that a few years later Archbishop Maréchal also questioned Champonier about the charter and the trustee situation there. Champonier offered then to return the charter to the next session of the legislature, but he pointed out that in case of a vacancy, the trustees would again come into power; at the time he was ruling the church alone. Actually the trustees, because of the dearth of priests, had been running the affairs of the church here for generations.

Champonier, who had been an army officer before coming to America, expected of his parishioners a docility to discipline scarcely possible under the circumstances. The trustees and he clashed at once, but he was soon in complete control. He stands out as one of the great figures in the history of the Vincennes Church. The decade he spent there ruined him, for during that time he suffered every heartbreak imaginable. Champonier was determined to raise the standards of his parishioners, to give them a decent school and church. Twice the church he was sweating to build was leveled to the ground; once by fire and once by tornado. He traveled all over the country, to Louisiana and to Canada to raise funds in its behalf. Once he had to be rescued by friends when he became ill and penniless while in Canada. Well could Flaget respect his fighting qualities and write letters of praise of his work and dreams in Vincennes.

Even the nuns who opened a school in April, 1824, were not well supported. Sister Harriet Gardiner, who gave her life to Vincennes, is another venerated figure in Vincennes history. After a decade of herculean efforts Champonier gave in to the heavy odds he faced, and died soon after leaving Vincennes.

During his pastorate at Vincennes Champonier had tried to influence DuBourg, Rosati, Maréchal, and the other bishops to obtain a bishop for Indiana. Flaget was always anxious to have this effected, and on the two visits of Bishop DuBourg to Kentucky discussed with that prelate the possibility of a see at Vincennes. DuBourg was at Bardstown the month of Champonier's ordination,

and may even have been present at the ceremony itself. The two bishops discussed the prospect of establishing sees not only in Indiana but also in St. Louis and in Florida. DuBourg returned the following April of 1824 again to discuss this as well as other problems. After these first conversations Flaget wrote to Rome to request a bishop for Detroit and to propose that the missions of Illinois be given to the jurisdiction of DuBourg and those of Indiana to Fenwick until bishoprics might be established. He thought that Father Anthony Blanc would be an excellent selection for Indiana. However, the two states were to remain under his jurisdiction for some time to come.²⁰

Vincennes was not the only place wherein Flaget was to have difficulty over church property and temporalities. In Scott County, that perennial seat of trouble where more than one priest met adversity and sorrow, again it was those who were more concerned with affairs of the flesh than those of the spirit that gave anxiety. In February, 1817, Flaget and Father Badin went out to settle a long dispute between two of the most influential families of the congregation, which had led to the growth of two factions. They spent over two weeks examining papers and hearing opinions, without arriving at any solution. Finally, one of the parties expressed bitterly the opinion that he might as well have burned his papers. The Bishop eagerly seized upon this remark and in a fervent appeal to the two urged them to do just that. They decided that this was the best way out, and the next day the Bishop celebrated Mass in one of their homes with the other present. At Mass he spoke to them, and afterward the papers were burned and the feud was over. Six years later, in February, 1823, he was again forced to intervene in the same parish, as an angry quarrel broke out there over church land and property. Accompanied this time by Father Chabrat he once more persuaded the trouble-makers to make another bonfire. By a mild but firm attitude he soon had the entire congregation in agreement that he ought to be made the sole manager of the church property, with the right to appoint any agent he desired to carry out his wishes.

At Holy Cross he ran into the same problem when some of the congregation conceived the idea that they ought to be allowed

to elect an overseer for the farm, who should then be empowered to appoint the pastor. In his usual mild manner the Bishop was able to dispose of this generous suggestion. He soon set up a system of trusteeism for the parishes of Kentucky, with the trustees appointed either by him or by the local pastors. The trustees were not the factious type and their chief responsibility was to see that the pastor was properly supported, so he would not have to worry about his own living expenses. The church property was gradually deeded over to the Bishop, and in 1842 a charter of incorporation was received from the legislature with the usual privileges of transmission to his successors in the see.²¹

During this period the various Catholic institutions made remarkable progress despite dislocations and problems. Another order of nuns was now added to the first two by the Dominicans. With the approval of Flaget, Father Thomas Wilson founded this Sisterhood, soon after the departure of Fenwick. Like the other two its first postulants were drawn from the parish (St. Rose) itself, and it also was begun in poverty and sacrifice. The first girls who entered the order were Maria and Elizabeth Sansbury, Mary Carico, Teresa Edelin, Ann Hill, Rose Tenley, and Ellen Whalen. The first year of the community of St. Mary Magdalene was spent in an old log cabin on a farm next to St. Rose. The next year, 1824, a more spacious house was secured for them by Sister Angela Sansbury, the first superior. They opened a school for the children of the parish, but went through the usual harrowing experience of such foundations, often being in want of food and laboring hard to plant and harvest scanty crops. The convent in Somerset, Ohio, was founded by some of these first Sisters of the Kentucky community.

In 1823 the other two convents opened branches in distant places. In April Mother Catherine took three other Sisters out to Scott County to open a school there in Chabrat's parish. Flaget told Chabrat that it was a great sacrifice for them as they knew scarcely anyone who would welcome them. He assured the priest that if the school "took well" other Sisters would be sent to make it solid and flourishing. Chabrat himself was having a hard time at St. Pius, this parish which caused so many priests to lose their

clerical "shirts." The two visits of Flaget to the parish had been occasioned by the forced termination of the pastor's incumbency. Property was the cause of the trouble, and Chabrat with his usual lack of judgment seems to have blamed Father Montgomery for it. Judge James Twyman warned the new pastor to be very cautious, especially in forming conclusions or even in making any remarks about past disturbances. Flaget's assumption of sole responsibility for the property helped matters, but Chabrat's pastorate was not too acceptable.

It was under such conditions that the Sisters began what Flaget described as a real "*via crucis*." In the circumstances it was felt best to send Mother Catherine, not at this time the general superior, as the one most likely to have a soothing influence; and this, even though the community was facing troubles at home, for the nuns of Nazareth were having great difficulty in paying for the plantation they had just purchased as "the properties of Sister O'Connor, on which they counted, were at the Point, and have lost their value because of the yellow fever." They had twenty-five boarding students, and about thirty day students. Four Sisters were conducting a school in Union County, about one hundred and fifty miles from Nazareth, five were in their old building at St. Thomas, three were conducting a school at Bardstown, while four were caring for the "linen of the college and doing housekeeping." They were then thinking of opening a hospital at Louisville.²² Within a half year the number of boarders at Nazareth doubled, although of that number there were "nine or ten girls who work half time for the instruction of others." David went out there to give examinations and to hear confessions. Their chapel was still a log cabin, and during his weekly instructions the Sisters sat on the bare floor as they had as yet no benches or chairs. Soon they started the foundation for a new chapel and a large building, but this took time as their debts began to outrun their funds.

On September 24, 1824, Mother Agnes Higdon died and Catherine Spalding was recalled from Scott County. The situation at Nazareth this year was a real worry to the Bishops as well as to the Sisters. Five of the members died; besides Mother Agnes, Sister Columbia Tarleton, and Sister Scholastica O'Connor were

their greatest loss. Mother Agnes had kept no account books and financial affairs at Nazareth were chaotic. David sadly observed, "I will miss her for a long time. However, she has left more debts than I would have believed. We are in a little bit of difficulty and without means. That to which our Sisters have a more constant recourse is prayer and confidence in God, they began today a novena to the Holy Virgin which ought to finish on the day of the renewal of their vows."²³ Flaget, not having known Mother Agnes as well as David had, was more concerned about the debts. He said of it all, "The good Sisters of Charity leave me about the same amount [\$4,000] to liquidate for them, because of the poor administration of an improvident mother, and that after what is going to be proposed to me of building a house that costs \$15,000. I assure you that I am a little insensible to the miseries of others when I see my own. However, God in his mercy makes me see a few rays of hope and that's enough to support me and direct me in the midst of the darkness that surrounds me."²⁴

By March, 1825, the boarders increased to sixty, and this made it seem absolutely necessary to build larger quarters, to which David and Flaget reluctantly agreed. They knew that their plan was "too vast" but they also felt that it was no use to waste time on a building that would be too small for the future.²⁵ By summer of 1826 the new building was under roof. It was not necessary to dig for water as a beautiful fountain gave it in abundance. In December David gave his friend in Maryland an exact count of the community at Nazareth, which included some ninety-five people. There were sixty Sisters altogether, scattered at Nazareth, Bardstown, St. Thomas, Union County, Scott County, and Vincennes, Indiana. They also had a few orphans, and a couple of old ladies, one of whom was the mother of Father O'Bryan. Their chaplain was a new priest recently come to the diocese from Louisiana, Father Simon Fouché. A half year later, June, 1826, Nazareth had increased to seventy-six boarders, and another building was begun; 100 acres of timberland was added to the plantation "and Providence has already supplied us with the means to pay for it."²⁶

While Sister Catherine Spalding was leading her Sisters out

to Scott County, Mother Julianna Wathen was leading a group of twelve Sisters of Loretto out to Perry County, Missouri. Sister Joanna Miles was made superior of the mission band and Mother Julianna returned to Loretto. Bishop DuBourg had been pleading for these Lorettoines, and Nerinckx finally decided to heed his appeal. The trials and perils of these twelve nuns in establishing the house in Missouri were perhaps even greater than those undergone by the original band. Another establishment was made just two months before that of Missouri when six Sisters, under Sister Agnes Hart, went to Mt. Carmel, about fifteen miles from Hardinsburg. Along with this expansion the Society of Loretto had experienced some sorrows too; eleven of the order died at the branch house in Fairfield in the six years after its establishment in 1821, and the immediate future held many more troubles for them. Father Chabrat, who was pastor of St. Michael's, Fairfield, and also their confessor, became convinced that their Rule was much too strict. Although the nuns might be excused for thinking that he had not much experience in conventual discipline, seeing that his entire ministry had been spent in the Kentucky backwoods, there were certain practices and rules no other order had inflicted upon itself. Father Nerinckx' path to heaven was through thorn-bushes, as is somewhat symbolized in his often repeated motto, "O suffering Jesus, O sorrowful Mary." Father Chabrat evidently believed that these poor girls did not realize that Nerinckx' rule was too hard for them and he determined to modify it. He asked the Bishop for permission to change the conditions of Loretto. Flaget then called in Father Nerinckx and informed him of Chabrat's projects. Nerinckx was aware of the younger priest's views of his discipline, and felt that the Bishop's mind was already on the other side. Actually the Bishop was torn between the two, and did not want to make an issue of the matter, but hoped Nerinckx would allow modification. Father Nerinckx, feeling that Chabrat had already convinced the Bishop and not wishing to start a quarrel with his colleague that might lead to scandal, asked Flaget for permission to retire to Missouri. The Bishop accepted his act of sacrifice, and in the spring of 1824 Nerinckx left Kentucky. He survived this blow only a few months; in

August while ministering to an isolated group of Catholics he took ill with the fever and managed to ride to the house of Father Dahmen at St. Genevieve. Here, after receiving the last Sacraments, he died on August 12, 1824.

Although Bishop Flaget sincerely mourned the death of the old missionary and preached an eloquent sermon in the Cathedral on his services in Kentucky, he also immediately appointed Chabrat ecclesiastical superior of the Sisters of Loretto. With Father Nerinckx completely out of the way Chabrat began his reform in earnest. His first act was to try to wipe out the memory of the founder by burning his letters, writings, and books. Under Chabrat's direction the move to St. Stephen's farm took place. Here, to Badin's old home and the first episcopal residence, came the majority of the one hundred and three Sisters of Loretto in November, 1824. On leaving the original site the Sisters followed the example of their Superior by setting fire to the buildings that were left there, determined that those old walls should not be put to worldly uses. The rules demanded an election of a superior every two years, so in 1824 Isabella Clarke succeeded Mother Julianna. During her term three Negro girls were accepted as postulants, with the vague intention of the establishment of a Negro Sisterhood. Records do not reveal what became of them.

The Sisters did not find enough buildings on St. Stephen's farm for their purposes, so they began immediately to put up others. On June 1, 1826, the octave day of Corpus Christi, Bishop Flaget blessed the new church and convent. Benediction was first given in the log chapel and then the Blessed Sacrament was carried by the Bishop, preceded by a long procession, to the new chapel. This event deeply moved the Bishop, who had begun his episcopacy at this log cabin. Father Chabrat had invited the other institutions to the affair. Mother Catherine, with another Sister of Nazareth, a half dozen of the Dominicans from St. Rose, several priests, seminarians, and the two Bishops were present. David preached at the Mass. After the dinner, all of them, including over fifty Sisters, were gathered in the recreation room, when Bishop Flaget "started a gay and pleasant conversation which, little by little took the form of a fatherly exhortation adapted to the circumstance

and apt to encourage and give heart to these good girls; he wanted me to add a few words. . . . I had little to say."²⁷ David felt that the architecture of the church was very common, but the inside was magnificently decorated. "Father Nerinckx had been careful to keep the richest ornaments, brought back from Flanders for his communities." Although the move had caused some heartache at first, like the Sisters of Nazareth they never regretted it and, as the farm was regarded as the cradle of the diocese, the Sisters of Loretto felt privileged to have the site.

Although the Bishops were often consulted and were much concerned with the two Sisterhoods, it was the college, built contiguous to their own residence, that in this period occupied more fully their minds and actions. The sixteen boarders of February, 1823, had caused David to exclaim "our college is forever growing," but this was not even a start compared to what was soon in the offing. Father George Elder was "doing marvelously" as president, and to the Bishop's delight soon earned the esteem and friendship of the public of Bardstown. The school offered advantages to the town as the townsmen soon discovered; from Louisville it attracted a great number. Father Kenrick was acting as vice-president, until Reynolds returned from Baltimore. Haseltine, the Canadian whom Flaget had met in Pittsburgh, had come to Kentucky and while studying philosophy at the seminary was acting as treasurer and teacher in the college. David himself was "plunged up to the neck" in work at the college, for besides his many other occupations he was teaching English there. In May, 1823, because of its rapid growth it was decided that additional room was necessary so the north wing of the college was started.

Some of the antics of Bishop DuBourg, especially his fervid acceptance into his affections and confidence of one who turned out to be an impostor, caused not only a relaxation of discipline in his diocese but also a general feeling of disgust among his clergy. He had been so impressed by this man, Ignésli, that he hastily ordained him and was soon proposing him for the coadjutorship. The man was shown in his true colors by Rome and by the Bishop of Quebec. Several priests left New Orleans as a result of DuBourg's unfortunate actions. Kentucky got three of these in the summer

of 1823 — Father Simon Fouché, about forty years old; Father Evremond Harrissart, about thirty-two; and Flaget's old friend, Father Bertrand Martial, were men of the highest merit.²⁸ Evremond was given a class in French at the college. Fouché knew only a little English, but helped at Nazareth. There were twenty-five to thirty boarders by this time.

A college of New Orleans under the direction of Father Martial having failed, this clergyman received the permission of the parents to transfer the students to St. Joseph's in Kentucky. In 1824 he brought up the first contingent of twenty boarders, and the Kentucky college began then its distinguished service to the education of boys from the lower Southern states of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Georgia. Many future public leaders of these three states received some, if not all, of their education here. Among these were two Congressmen from Mississippi, Otho R. Singleton and William R. Miles, two governors of Louisiana, and a host of Kentuckians. The latter included Cassius M. Clay, perhaps the most celebrated; abolitionists in Kentucky were not unknown, but few got the attention or trouble that came to Clay. Other Kentuckians who studied there included Lazarus W. Powell, James Speed, Charles Wintersmith, William Lancaster, Judge John Rowan, and many others of reputation. In May, 1825, Martial brought up fifty more boarders from Louisiana. These boarders, called interns by the boys living with their parents in the town or vicinity, naturally brought a certain amount of prosperity to the town as well as to the college. The additional boarders made more construction necessary and the two wings were joined by a central building, which made the college one of the most pretentious in the state. The foundation for the central part of the building was laid in March, 1825, but soon anxiety beset the Bishop over payments, as it was figured that this part would cost \$7,000 or \$8,000. He had thought that there would be no problem in this. Soon he was considerably worried over the "good number of debts." In March Elder went with Martial to Louisiana to visit the parents of the boys from this district. Martial then went to Rome to obtain "alms for the diocese." The building rose rapidly; by September the second floor was almost finished. There were then about ninety boarders, "which were as

many as could be lodged," while the day students numbered almost one hundred.²⁹ By December the outside of the building was completed but the plastering of the inside had to wait for spring.

The authorities attempted not only to provide the best possible instructors but also the most modern equipment. Kenrick, Reynolds, Abell, and Elder were assisted by Martial, Fouché, and Harrissart, as well as by occasional lay professors and the seminarians. Just before Christmas of 1824 there arrived from Europe several boxes which contained an "apparatus" for the college, books, "machines for the physic cabinets," ornaments, and many other items.³⁰ As he told Henry Clay, the Bishop had also hoped to secure a "learned Chymist" for the college, but was unable to get to Paris as he had expected at that time.³¹ Bruté had paid some fifty "gourdes" custom duties on the articles, but Flaget assured him that he could recover the money as Congress had passed a Bill allowing the college to bring in such items without duty. However, Bruté, with his usual generosity, had promised to Father Richard the sum when he had recovered it from Flaget.

Father Richard, Sulpician pastor of Detroit, had just passed through a variety of experiences. Among his several educational projects he had been the first vice-president of the University of Michigan, and had half the professorial chairs; the presidency and the other chairs were occupied by a Protestant minister. Bishop Flaget had found it necessary to excommunicate a parishioner of Detroit, and Richard had put the penalty into effect. For this he was sued in a civil court, and a prejudiced anti-Catholic jury had awarded damages to the plaintiff. As Father Richard could not raise the sum, which was over one thousand dollars, he had been sent to prison. From there, in 1822, he had been elected Michigan's delegate to the United States Congress — the only priest ever to be a member of that body. While there his chief interest had been to arouse the attention of Congress to the need of roads in Michigan Territory, which was certainly understandable in a citizen of Detroit. Clay and other Congressional colleagues had sought to comfort him with the assurance that his conviction had been unconstitutional. He served only one term as Congressman as he was defeated in the election of 1824.

Shortly after this defeat he was after Flaget for Bruté's money, and the Bishop, plaintively but humorously observed, "Here is the honorable delegate from Michigan or rather that fugitive from prison who is asking me for fifty gourdes in your behalf. . . . The great difficulty is that my purse is as [thin] as his . . . after this little exposé you can see at a glance what a fine thing it is to send me subscriptions to finish a church which is four or five hundred miles from Bardstown while for six years, I have been preaching about finishing the façade of my cathedral and I haven't been able to obtain it yet."³²

Evidently David had been a little too sanguine when he reported a year and a half previously that the city and the congregation had taken charge of finishing the tower and façade of the Cathedral, which was to cost from \$1,800 to \$2,000. Subscriptions had almost reached that sum at the time David spoke, but collecting the subscriptions was another matter. The other congregations of Kentucky were to finish the interior, and to pay the remaining debt on the Cathedral, amounting then to about \$2,000.³³ The humble, hard-working Derigaud, rector of the minor seminary, was also doing some building at this time. In September, 1825, he finished "his college which will have a capacity of one hundred and fifty students, is seventy feet by thirty feet, adjoining the seminary which is thirty feet square. That makes a hundred feet of building three stories high, not counting the cellars which contain a large refectory, pantries, a fine kitchen, laundry, etc. But the best of it all is that it is all paid for."³⁴ No wonder Flaget could exclaim, when Derigaud died two years later, that this priest had never given him an instant's worry or trouble. The college had then, however, only about thirty students. It was hoped that it would supply students for the minor seminary, as the latter did to the major.

With all these debts and with constant building programs, Flaget could be excused for begging "the good Mr. Richard to leave me in peace about his 50 gourdes" for his church of St. Anne. Flaget stated that although his own position was too miserable to help Richard at the time, if he would have patience and wait a couple years he would pay him double and perhaps even more. The subscriptions to the Cathedral fund were not only not being paid,

but also Rogers, the architect, was pressing for the "modest sum of \$4,000."³⁵ However, in November Flaget was able to come to the aid of the pastor of Detroit. With a chuckle or two as he wrote Flaget observed:

I am in the best humor in the world; according to your desires I have got ahold, by good chance, of \$50 which I have had passed on to the Honorable Mr. Richard in order to lessen the bitterness of his heart frustrated in its desire to be re-elected. This brave man told me in vain that it is very suitable for the Catholic church that someone of its preachers should become from time to time a member of Congress. For myself, I don't believe any such thing and Mr. Richard, as far as I'm concerned, was more interesting in the obscurity of his prison lying on his bed of straw than in the center of the light of Congress seated on a velvet-covered chair. Mr. Badin, the European one, always makes him bishop, but the letters from the Court of Rome which announce the promotion of Msgr. Fenwick for Boston do not say anything of this and Mr. Richard declares he has no information on this matter.³⁶

Although Flaget was pressed at this time by a considerable debt, largely caused by extensive building programs, he nevertheless always seemed to have managed to come up with the necessary funds. A larger part of this, at opportune times, came from benefactors in Europe; for instance, in 1823, the Association for the Propagation of the Faith sent him \$1,300. Flaget gaily noted that he would never be canonized as have been other bishops of first sees, because he was so entirely worldly, for "as in the time of Noah, I keep myself busy with considerable buildings and purchases of land."

Debts and buildings were not the only concern of Bardstown! Occasionally the focus changed to more exciting incidents. In the two-week period covering the Christmas of 1824 and the New Year of 1825 two fires broke out on the Cathedral grounds. The first fire destroyed a pile of planks which were being prepared for the building; the second, which happened on January 1, was more disastrous. Flames broke out in the infirmary while everyone but an old man was at Mass. This building was only a hundred feet from the Cathedral, and because of a strong wind the fire rose to

a prodigious height. Perhaps the only thing which had saved the Cathedral was a heavy snow which was still then falling. A boy saw the old man making desperate efforts to open the windows in the infirmary, and he sounded the alarm to the other youngsters, who then tried in vain to reach him. "A student of the college, braver than his companions, in great peril of his life, burst into this room and rescued this good man from the midst of this furnace in which he had been preserved intact, and carried him into Mr. Elder's room where he died seven or eight hours after this terrible accident. It is very probable that this frightful scene hastened his death. . . ." The young rescuer had his hands and part of his hair burned. The fire had been the result not of malice, but of negligence. The townsmen rushed to the scene to help and could not have done more had it been their own homes burning.³⁷

That same winter there was another incident which was one of malice. Father Reynolds was nearly killed just before Easter by "a young man who had been a scholar in experimental philosophy." As Reynolds was not especially known as a wit, this fellow took seriously some reference to himself which everyone else considered a jest. He seemed to have held this grudge against the priest for four months before he finally attacked him on the street of Bardstown with a hickory club he had prepared for the occasion. Grabbing the young priest by the throat he struck him four times over the head. At the second blow Reynolds sank senseless to the ground, and had not some of the people nearby rushed to his aid immediately he probably would have been killed. It was believed that the honor of the college and the safety of the faculty demanded police action. The town was thoroughly searched for the culprit, but he escaped punishment. All this had happened on Monday, and as the victim was not as badly injured as at first feared, "a blood letting and a purge" got him into shape to preach Holy Thursday evening. Poor Reynolds! Bruised and battered by one of his students, then bled and physicked by his friends, finally preaching for a couple of hours!

However, this was a momentary trouble to the vigorous Reynolds. Bishop David, on the other hand, was sorely afflicted during this period and was really to continue in bad health to his death. He

had asthma, constant migraine headaches, his throat was raw and sore most of the time from preaching, instructions, and singing. Confessions especially tired him. He could have saved himself some pain had he stopped some of these tasks, but he felt that then he would no longer have a reason for existence. Although he confessed that "death does indeed terrify me a little," he still wanted to die before Monsignor "as I cannot stand the thought of surviving him." Flaget for the first time in years was not feeling well this year, but he resisted David's attempt to cure him "by a purge."

Despite the fact there was always a fog before his eyes, that he had constantly a dull pain in his forehead, David not only attended to all the duties of his various positions, but even managed to continue intellectual pursuits. He prepared a hundred and fifty page catechism at this time which also contained some other material. He read St. Francis de Sales and tried to settle for Bruté certain problems of theology, finding the answer he wanted in Liguori. David confessed that he was somewhat piqued by Bishop England's failure to answer his letters. David was trying to start a regular correspondence with England, so he could give that prelate some advice; perhaps he feared that England had seen through his subterfuge. The two Bishops of Bardstown were not to meet England for almost a decade, but they soon were hearing of him. "I didn't know that the Bishop of Charleston was so young; that explains to me his extreme vitality, not always moderate enough," exclaimed David.³⁸

On June 5, 1822, Bishop England founded the famous Catholic periodical, the *United States Catholic Miscellany*. This paper was to have an irregular existence, several times saved only by the financial aid of Judge William Gaston, and several times suspending publication for various reasons. It received a mixed reception on the part of the clergy and hierarchy because of England's fervid democratic policies and his espousal of Irish questions. That was the main reason for David's disappointment at not finding a chance to advise England. David liked the *Miscellany* but did not approve the tone of certain pieces. Haste and not always enough moderation was his chief complaint concerning it. He found that this sometimes resulted in some inexact propositions in the matter of doctrine. He

also felt that it was too much concerned with republican principles. He worried lest England might be "on the wrong track in the affair of the Philadelphia schism" and he could not help believing, with Monsignor Conwell, that "his hurried remarks on the propositions of O'Malley have helped to encourage him in perseverance." All these criticisms occurred before he met Bishop England; like Flaget, he too fell under the influence of the personality of the vigorous Bishop once they had met in person. David and Flaget read with admiration also the works of Cobbett. De Lamennais sent to them personally three of his pamphlets. However, it was only owing to the presence of the "incomparable Kenrick" that David had any time for scholarship. That beloved priest was often on parish duty though, so David could not turn over the seminary entirely to him. He had hoped Father Fouché might be his answer there, but the health of the latter prevented this.

Flaget was constantly striving to improve and increase his various institutions for the public welfare. Henry Clay, then Secretary of State, had been the chief guest of honor at the first public examination of the girls at Nazareth, in the spring of 1825. He also visited the other educational institutions, and a quick and warm friendship grew up between the Bishop and the great Kentuckian. Later that year Flaget told the statesman that he felt the same eagerness for the public good as he had thirty years before and that there was much he would do if he had the proper support. He had hoped to go to Europe that very year not only to visit but also to secure several important new adjuncts to his work. He hoped to obtain some Sisters to start a manual training school for orphans, another group to train the deaf and dumb, and a chemist, as well as to collect some painting and perhaps "engage some celebrated painters and musicians to accompany me to Bardstown . . . in order to enrich as much as possible my dear Kentuckians with learning and fine arts." However, David had feared lest the responsibility of the diocese would be too much for himself, and had written to Rome objecting to the projected visit. The Holy Father had felt David's protests were more valid than Flaget's reasons for the trip, so had asked the Bishop to postpone it.

The material progress of the diocese is best seen in two reports Flaget drew up at this time. The first, designed for the French in order to aid in the collection of funds for his diocese, was made in 1824 and a copy of it was sent to his friends in Baltimore on March 8 of that year. The second has a more confused background. In writing Clay he noted that he had just sent a long report to the Secretary of State of Kentucky on his literary institutions, and David noted that "Mgr. replied with his usual talent in detail which will astonish these gentlemen." After the details Flaget "with episcopal liberty" asks his reader to recognize the falseness of the assertion of a recent publication that the Catholic religion was the enemy of republicanism and so could not thrive on a free soil. His own diocese could refute such a statement. The report to France concerned numbers, that to the state was financial.³⁹

Flaget estimated that the total number of Catholics in Kentucky was between sixteen and seventeen thousand out of a population of over six hundred thousand.⁴⁰ To serve these Flaget had, in 1824, a bishop, his coadjutor, seventeen secular priests, and six Dominicans. The secular priests were Charles Nerinckx (buried before the year's end), Guy Chabrat, James Derigaud, Robert Abell, Charles Coomes, David De Parcq, William Byrne, George Elder, Francis P. Kenrick, Leo Champonier, Elisha J. Durbin, Ignatius Reynolds, Bertrand Martial, Simon Fouché, and Evremond Harrissart. Another priest, Robert Byrne, was ordained in 1825.⁴¹ There were sixteen frame churches and nine of brick. Among the latter was the Cathedral which, not yet finished, had already cost \$22,600. St. Joseph's Seminary at Bardstown had 19 seminarians, some of whom taught at the college. Two of these were deacons, two subdeacons, and the rest were in minor orders. The seminary building had cost \$6,000. St. Thomas Minor Seminary had 15 young students and 5 teachers. The school connected with it had some 30 students, who paid annually \$35, mostly in produce, for their upkeep. These buildings out there had cost \$11,400. St. Joseph's College, next to the seminary, would cost \$20,000 when completed and had almost 120 students then. Father Byrne's St. Mary's "country school" had another 120 young boys, who paid \$6 for tuition and board in produce. This building had cost \$4,000. Flaget

stated that "more than 130 in three years have had the good fortune to make there their first Communion, an extremely difficult thing in Kentucky because of the impossibility to gather the children for Catechism." The large monastery of St. Rose had a half-dozen priests, and the same number of novices.

The three Sisterhoods were all in various stages of building. The Sisters of Loretto had 103 members and their convent, of brick, cost \$5,000. Their six branch houses were all of logs. The Sisters of Nazareth had 60 members and 60 boarders at their school of Nazareth, and conducted three other schools in Kentucky and one at Vincennes. The Dominican Sisters, only a couple years old, had 14 members and 29 boarders. There were about 300 girls under the Sisters' care; more than 80 orphans were kept and educated by the Sisters. The Sisters of Charity had an orphan asylum. "The Brothers of the Mission" were very useful but had only 7 members. This group was not very stable, and, soon after the death of their superior, Father Derigaud, it went out of existence.

This was the material accomplishment of fifteen years in Kentucky. Flaget could then, without boasting but with some pride, tell the "friend to the old bishop of Bardstown," Henry Clay, that ". . . you will be convinced that though a Frenchman by birth, I am a sincere American by choice & adoption — That I have spent the most precious time of my life in the United States, & that at all times & everywhere I endeavoured to make myself useful to the people with whom I lived . . . & the kind treatment I receive from them all, at this very time, is a proof of the sincere affection they entertain for me. . . . I freely & friendly unbosom my heart to your own, because I know that your views for public good are extensive, & that you are possessed with the noble ambition of making the United States independent of Europe. I feel animated with the same sentiments. . . ." ⁴²

Ten

THE Jubilee of 1825, promulgated by Leo XII and extended to the whole world in the following year, had an immense spiritual impact upon the faithful of the Church of Kentucky. This was the first event of its kind for the Catholics of that state; it gave tangible evidence of the spiritual development of the people, as the various institutions had indicated the material progress of the diocese. Because of the vast extent of his see Flaget was given two years to announce the Jubilee, and the Bishop then gave each parish six months to fulfill the conditions required for gaining its spiritual benefits, which were the same then as now. That the clergy might the better bring to their parishes the exercises of the Jubilee, the Bishop brought them together at the Cathedral on September 1, 1826, and then himself led the priests in their week of prayer. On the next Sunday, September 10, he promulgated it to the Cathedral parish. During the entire week of the retreat the people of Bardstown, Catholic and non-Catholic, crowded the church.

Besides the usual devotions and sermons, there was introduced here, especially for the benefit of the non-Catholic attendants, an exercise used by Bishop Flaget often before with profit, which was repeated wherever the Jubilee was held. This took the form of a conference between two priests on doctrinal points; one asking questions or raising objections and the other answering. Father Kenrick, because of his superior knowledge of theology, was given the main role. So remarkable and so immediate was his success that the Bishop decided that no one else could fill the position as well, and Kenrick then had to go to each parish

in which the Jubilee was introduced, so he was kept busy at this for these two years.

The Jubilee opened at the Cathedral with a solemn Mass, followed immediately by a sermon, and the recitation of the necessary prayers. At three o'clock in the afternoon the conferences between the priests took place, and at half-past six another sermon was delivered. This procedure was followed for eight days. In the other parishes it was adapted to the circumstances. The following week was St. Thomas' turn; here only one sermon was given in the day. After St. Thomas, the Bishop and his four accompanying priests, among whom were Kenrick and Reynolds, moved on to Louisville, where a sermon in the afternoon and a conference at night was the order. During the week confessions were heard every day, and in some of the country parishes, especially at Nerinckx' old parish, St. Charles, the people were in the church very early in the morning awaiting the confessors. Flaget administered Confirmation in each parish at the end of the ceremonies. Since many came miles for the event they remained all day at the church, eating their lunches on the lawn. After covering a few more parishes, Kenrick became so ill in October, 1826, that the Jubilee was interrupted for a few weeks until he could recover. He had already been "wearing fever for a winter cloak" and finally had to give up. The cold weather, then rains and difficult roads caused a further suspension of these activities, and it was not until the end of February, 1827, that the zealous prelate could once again think of resuming the Jubilee visitations. Kenrick was by then recovered enough to accompany the band.¹

There were several incidents manifesting the uneasiness of Protestant ministers over the "great revival" of the Catholics. The most noteworthy happened in Springfield, in mid-September, 1827. The missionaries had had "abundant fruits as a very large number of sinners who confess only 10, 12, 15, & 20 years have made the Jubilee." Father Kenrick was in fine mettle; he continued to bear the main role of respondent at the conferences, for he "excelled in this field, his profound knowledge of theology, his excellent memory joined to a nice judgment and a nice spirit, his facility

. . . and speaking the language which had made him the delight of Catholics and the terror of heretics." This was especially seen at Springfield when the Presbyterian minister, Sneed, "vomited all the vermin that he knew about the Catholic church," when they let him harangue for half an hour. Kenrick had appeared to be asleep during this violent denunciation, but instead was playing, for he answered each point raised by the preacher who had laid himself open in several ways. The defeat and humiliation of the frontier preacher was so complete, said David, that when Sneed rose to answer he was pulled back down by his companions, one of whom is supposed to have said, "I would not have received such a whipping for 500 dollars. . . . I would give a 100 dollars had the preacher held his peace."²

These were the usual incidents of frontier preaching. The Bishop and his clergy were delighted by the results of the spiritual pilgrimage. "All hearts appeared to be truly moved. This was seen in the vividness of the sorrow and in the abundance of tears which accompanied the confession of their sins. . . . Many, too, profited by this happy season to renew marriages contracted before Protestant ministers. . . . Not only did the labourers and farmers, who constituted the majority of the Catholics, give these beautiful examples of fervour and zeal, but persons of every condition — merchants, physicians, magistrates, legislators — showed themselves equally eager to profit by the graces of heaven. . . . Perhaps the fruits of the Jubilee were more abundant here than in any other part of the Christian world, if we take into account the small number of Catholics. . . ." In the course of the Jubilee the Bishop confirmed some 1216 persons while 4345 received the Sacrament of the Eucharist.³ It was thought by the missionaries that at least 6000 approached the Sacraments of Penance and Communion during this period. The total number of Catholics of Kentucky was, in some figures, given as 18,000, but this number also included children.

In the midst of the Jubilee there appeared at Bardstown one day an unhappy and worried Bishop Rosati. During the coldest spell of the winter he left St. Louis, with Father Dahmen and Brother Blanca, in order to confer with his old friends at Bards-

town, and arrived at the home of Flaget on January 19, 1827. After his consecration in 1824 he had had a difficult time as coadjutor to DuBourg. In 1825 Bishop DuBourg had suggested the suppression of the seminary in Missouri, and the foundation of a new one in Lower Louisiana. Meanwhile, he had almost denuded Upper Louisiana of priests, taking even some of the Congregation of the Missions for his own field of labor. Rosati had sought the advice of the Bardstown prelates concerning his difficult position with DuBourg, and they had written a strong letter to the Propaganda condemning the transfer of the seminary and stating that "the projects explained by Bishop DuBourg to Bishop Rosati are prejudicial in every respect." They had advised that the division of the diocese be made without delay, "because until it is made, all the zeal and talents of Bishop Rosati are kept, as it were, in concealment."⁴ After this project had to be abandoned by DuBourg, he became so discouraged that he decided to resign his diocese, so on May 4, 1826, he sailed for Europe, without informing even Rosati of his intention. Rome had accepted his resignation because the Bishops of Bardstown and others stated that his suspicions and sensitiveness made co-operation with the other bishops and priests practically impossible. On November 4, the Coadjutor received notice from Rome of the acceptance of this resignation and his own appointment as administrator. From this Brief it seemed Rome wished Rosati to take the diocese of New Orleans instead of St. Louis. This proposal was completely repugnant to Rosati; hence, his trip in the middle of winter to seek the advice of his Kentucky friends. He had become used to the climate and people of Missouri, while the climate of New Orleans was extremely hard on him. Furthermore, he averred that he preferred death to it because of the extreme corruption and relaxation of discipline in all of Lower Louisiana, which he felt to be past remedy. Rosati remained at St. Thomas for two weeks, visiting the institutions and holding long conferences with his friends. The many changes awed and excited him. His humility and piety edified the two Bishops, especially when the rotund Italian threw himself upon his knees to ask their blessing when he left them.⁵ They advised him to refuse the

see of New Orleans, while in the meantime they wrote to Rome giving their reasons for their desire to see him at St. Louis, and at the same time recommending Leo de Neckère for New Orleans. This advice was eventually followed by Rome, and Rosati became the first Bishop of St. Louis.

On his visit to Bardstown Rosati had found that Bishop David was in almost the same position regarding the seminary, as he had been ten years before. David, with thirteen theologians in 1827, was almost as alone in the seminary as he had been in 1811, for as soon as a priest was ordained there was immediate need of him outside the seminary. David felt that the College of St. Joseph's was a great obstacle to "an interior life" in the seminary of St. Joseph's; the seminarians were not as fervent as he wished, and he himself had to be absent two days each week at Nazareth. On these days, Father Harrissart took over at the seminary.

In the summer and fall of 1827 several significant events took place among the various institutions. The new building, seventy by thirty feet, was completed at Nazareth and although having only thirty-six boarders with a capacity of one hundred and fifty, they still hoped to have the debt on it paid off in two years. The total cost to the student was a maximum of \$150 a year. The Prospectus for Nazareth Academy noted that there was no encroachment made upon liberty of conscience, or, in other words, that no solicitation was made upon the students to induce them to embrace the Catholic religion. However, the student did have to submit to the general regulation of the school and attend morning and evening prayers as well as divine service on Sundays and feast days. David, the Superior of the Sisters, became involved with them in a minor controversy over their name, and the Bishop took his part. He was somewhat taken aback to find that the very word he had opposed was that given to the Sisters in Baltimore, and admitted that he would not have been so particular had he known of that circumstance. "My scrupulousness has been almost ridiculed, and our little mother [Catherine], who has a lot of wit, has given me many arguments in which was mixed without her intending it, a bit of sarcasm. . . . She is going to exult in

seeing the prospectus of St. Joseph's, that I will not allow to be shown to her," related David.⁶ Another problem that bothered David was the necessity of having some of the young ladies going to the college to take lessons in the sciences, as well as that of having a priest going regularly to teach "among the religious women." Textbooks also worried the Coadjutor. He used Lingard's *History of England*, but found that other books used in the college had anti-Catholic bias, and he would not allow them at Nazareth.

In the last days of July of 1827 another public examination of the students of Nazareth took place. The subjects of examination were "English, reading, grammar, geography, rhetoric, natural philosophy, chemistry, drawing, painting, embroidery, and music" and again the students maintained their reputation. These were held in order to display the possibilities of Nazareth, and to further the reputation of that institution. Shortly after that Flaget was called to St. Bernard's parish, on Casey's Creek, where Derigaud had moved the headquarters of the Brothers, by the serious illness of that priest. Despite the prayers of all, the ministrations of Flaget, and the services of a physician all the way from St. Louis, Derigaud died that fall. He was buried from St. Thomas, and soon the Brotherhood disbanded.

The most important incidents concerned the college. At this period, because of the invasion of the Creoles from New Orleans, the boarders outnumbered the day students by two to one, there being in 1827 about 155 students in all. This had almost resulted in financial disaster. The New Orleans' agent had not sent them any money for some time, so Haseltine went down to investigate. Almost \$20,000 was owed to the college from that quarter, and the agent was "some \$5,000 behind his collections from the parents." In six months Hazeltine got all that was owed, and had barely returned to Bardstown before the news of the bankruptcy of their New Orleans agent reached them.⁷ In August, 1827, the resignation of Father George Elder was accepted by the Bishop, and Father Reynolds was appointed to the presidency. Elder took Kenrick's place in the missions of Scott County and its dependent parishes. The Jubilee had accomplished so much in

St. Pius parish that Flaget wished not to lose its effects, so he sent Father Kenrick there. However, "Kenrick was still so necessary to the seminary, the college, and to Monsignor as his secretary, because his theological training has made him such a help," that Flaget welcomed the chance to recall him. The reason for the change of presidents was the general lack of discipline in the college; the Southerners were much wilder than the native Kentuckians, and when Reynolds and Fouché tried to bring them into line they were not supported by the President. The situation was cogently described by David, who told Bruté: "We have here, like at Baltimore, a change of presidents, and what is still more singular, is that in the two colleges, it is the professor of physics who has been elevated to that dignity. We have had here almost a revolt of the scholars who were strongly attached to their good, almost too good president, who through his laxness has made himself annoying to his colleagues and has discouraged all. Mr. Reynolds through his eloquence, his address, and his wise administration has reassured them and made evident the continuation of affection between the scholars and the professors. All is now going at a good rate, we have more than 110 boarders, the number of outside or day scholars is not as large as last year because we raised the price of the tuition. Mr. Reynolds has effected a total separation of day scholars from boarders except in classes."⁸

Kenrick returned to his classes in the seminary and college. Soon Reynolds seems to have become more esteemed than Elder ever had been because he secured the friendship and respect of the students through his zeal, talent, and good humor, as he brought about order that had never existed before. Yet the next year David was complaining that although Father Martial's intention had been good, he had brought to them all the corruption of New Orleans; that the contagion was such that not only would they never be able to clean up the college, but the good children were being corrupted, despite the hard work of the new president. David was especially unhappy over the contact of the seminarians with the Southern gentlemen, noting that not one student had gone from the college to the seminary. He was

mistaken in this, though, for John McGill, future Bishop of Richmond, was among the students of St. Joseph's College.

The success of Bruté at Mt. St. Mary's pleased both prelates of Kentucky. Flaget complimented Dubois' administration of the Mountain, saying that he must have laid a firm foundation since it could not only stand and continue without him but even improve since his removal. Both David and Flaget were humanly pleased that the reasons given by their opponents to the selection of Dubois for a bishopric were not materializing, at least at that time. The two general reasons had been that the college at Emmitsburg could not continue without him, and that he would meet so much opposition in the see of New York that he would be in the same position as Conwell in Philadelphia. Dubois had been consecrated by Maréchal on October 29, 1826, for the diocese of New York, following the death of Bishop Connolly. Probably the chief reason for opposition to his appointment was the fact he was a Frenchman and New York was in a troubled state. Father John Power, a young priest of extraordinary talent, was considered by some as the best choice for the see. Power, himself, represented part of the opposition to Dubois, but there was no trouble there over the appointment, although the Bishop of New York was to have many embarrassing moments and made no reputation in his position.

In August of 1827 there came to Kentucky the first news of the critical illness of Archbishop Maréchal. David was emphatic in stating that he was opposed to the choice of either a Frenchman or a Sulpician as coadjutor to the Metropolitan of Baltimore.⁹ He also said: "Here as well as elsewhere reflections have been made as to those who are named for the succession to the archbishopric. They find the two auxiliaries too young for such a position. As to the first a good lady of Baltimore, who is in Bardstown at present, told me with much candor and simplicity 'Mr. W. [Wheeler? or Whitfield?] is a very good man but he is not learned as one ought to be for such a position.' But God has his views *infirmis mundi eligit et confundat fortia*." On December 17, 1827, as a result of Maréchal's expressed wish, Rome appointed an English-American priest, James Whitfield, his coadjutor. But the

Archbishop died on January 29, 1828, before his Coadjutor could be consecrated.

The fifty-seven-year-old Whitfield was vicar-general of Baltimore and rector of the Cathedral. Born in England of a prosperous merchant family, he was ordained in 1809 at the age of thirty-nine. After his mother's death and Maréchal's election to the see of Baltimore he came to America where he was appointed to the Cathedral in 1817. His wealth, culture, and position made him a well-known citizen of Baltimore. Because of his position as dean of the American bishops, Flaget was invited to consecrate the newly elected Archbishop of Baltimore.

Late in April Flaget and Father Evremond Harrissart left for Baltimore. The Bishop had wanted to take Kenrick, but he was too essential to the college, seminary, and especially to David, who felt he could not spare him for the three months Flaget would be gone. Both the Bishops of Kentucky were pleased that the lineage of consecration of the newly elected Archbishop would go back to Carroll through Flaget, who was then the only one in America consecrated by the first Bishop. On Ascension Day Flaget and Whitfield began a retreat together. On Pentecost, May 25, 1828, Flaget consecrated the fourth Archbishop of Baltimore, with Bishop Dubois and Bishop Conwell as co-consecrators. Flaget wrote of it, "This Sunday of Pentecost was the most grand, the most august, the most honorable day, that ever shone on this Bishop of Bardstown."¹⁰ However, before the end of his life the Bishop of Bardstown was to consecrate two more bishops, who became archbishops of Baltimore — Kenrick and Spalding. Bishop England had not been invited to the event, and he gently chided the new Archbishop, saying, among other things, in his long letter, "I had learned . . . that with a delicacy of feeling and a correctness of principle which perfectly accord with the ancient institutions of the Church, you had invited the Bishop of Bardstown to be the consecrator. . . . In this particular case it greatly mortified me to be debarred the opportunity of meeting the good man whom I look upon as the Patriarch of our Church (Doctor Flaget). . . . I have then, Most Reverend Sir, referred you to my venerable Brother of Bardstown for a fuller view of my reasons for a

national council and I shall not for the present press them farther. . . ."¹¹

Flaget was feted by his many friends in Baltimore, especially at St. Mary's Seminary. He went over to Washington to visit at Georgetown College, where he had been among the first professors so many years before. He also visited at the Convent of the Visitation, talked to the recently miraculously cured Mrs. Mattingly, and finally called upon his old friend, the Secretary of State, Henry Clay. It was the latter no doubt who took him to call upon the President, John Quincy Adams. Clay had invited him to make his residence while in Washington at his house. Hearing of Flaget's pressing needs Clay also offered to loan him \$4,000 but the Bishop declined the generous offer.¹² Flaget saw other dignitaries, but his greatest delight and satisfaction were the days he spent with Father Bruté. In several letters to Bruté after his return he ecstatically expressed his deep pleasure, telling him that he would pass on to the last generation of his clerical family the memory of those wonderful places of Maryland and the reception accorded him at them. His "brilliant description of the charming solitude" there gave one of his priests, whom he had ordained in order to give him more respectability in the college, the urge to finish his theological courses under Bruté "for I did not communicate to him the theological knowledge necessary."

While in the East he was joined by Father Abell, returning from a two-year sojourn in Europe. Various conjectures have been made regarding the reasons for this European visit of Abell's; some have maintained that Flaget wanted to polish the manners of his eloquent frontier priest, that he felt the grand tour would aid the development of his mental stature. There may have been something to this, although the practical Flaget also expected Father Abell to return with either funds or men for the diocese. The stories concerning Abell are almost legendary, and his European trip naturally added more of them. There was the time he was a guest among several officers of various nationalities. Because of his height, the Kentuckian sought a low chair so as not to loom above the company. A lively argument broke out about the average height of the different nationalities, each

claiming the men of their own country were the tallest. Father Abell had taken no part in the conversation until his host asked him about Americans. Abell quietly answered that he thought his country had an advantage. Another French officer then asked him what was the average height of Americans. The six feet and four inches of Abell then unwound itself, stood up slowly, and drawled, "In the United States I pass for a man of average stature!"

Back from this trip, Abell traveled with the Bishop around the East. On several occasions Flaget pontificated and Abell preached before audiences of amazed Easterners, who were critical but at the same time fascinated by his oratorical powers. Fathers F. X. Gartland and C. C. Pise, one a future bishop, were among these. Pise finally asked him what books he used to prepare his sermons. Abell evaded the question, but Pise repeated the query at the Archbishop's table, and the rough priest, turning to face his fastidious tormentor, simply exclaimed, "Books, Dr. Pise! We have no books in Kentucky. We go to nature for inspiration. The elements are our books, and in them we are able to trace the designs of a beneficent God. . . . And when . . . we ascend the pulpit to instruct others in the ways of God, the Holy Ghost just tells us what to say and we say it!"¹³ Innumerable are the stories of such wit and eloquence.

Flaget often would have to shrug his shoulders or wave his hands in a helpless gesture over the roughness of his home-grown product, but he recognized its genius. Had he been able to send Abell to Rome for his training, there is little doubt that Bardstown would have contributed another member to the hierarchy. He amazed and delighted and was loved by both hierarchy and clergy. He had Badin's wit and piety without his Jansenistic qualities. Rosati always found pleasure in his company. After Rosati had become Bishop of St. Louis, he and Flaget met to plan a division of the parishes of Illinois, and at the same time they made a visitation of these together. Abell again accompanied his Bishop. He not only drove the team of horses with a closed carriage but also took part in the other missionary activities such as hearing confessions, and he was expected to preach at each place they stopped. On their way to Kaskaskias, a driving snowstorm set in.

It slowed them down so that they arrived hours late. A hasty meal was bolted and then all hurried to the church. Abell had been frozen and worn out, so on their way he asked to be excused from preaching as he could not find "an idea fit to be thrown to a dog." The two Bishops to his annoyance insisted on his duty, although Rosati compromised by allowing him to talk only briefly, saying that another Fenelon could not keep him awake a half hour. The Bishops and the pastor began the services, leaving Abell in the sacristy to await the time of his appearance. A few moments later the priest decided that a little wine might warm his body and mind. In two glasses he had his warmth, and, after the third, exhilaration. He was a new man, and as he walked up the pulpit steps he suddenly determined that if the Bishops wanted a sermon they should have it and that Rosati would not sleep during it. As he went on and on, his eloquence increased, the precise term best needed never failed him; he forgot his surroundings and time until finally his voice failed and he had to stop. It was two hours later. The Bishops hastily concluded the services, and all retired to the sacristy and disrobed. Then Rosati came over to Abell, dived into his pocket, pulled out his watch, and thrust it under the eyes of the priest, who began to stammer an apology. Rosati threw his arms around Abell and exclaimed that he had not gone to sleep at all, that the priest had kept him chained with his eloquence and power. "Yours is a wonderful gift! You spoke as if you were inspired!" roared Rosati. When Abell told him of the source of his inspiration Rosati's fat sides shook with laughter.¹⁴

Abell's talents were not confined to preaching. Shortly after his return with the Bishop from the East he resumed the pastorate of Louisville, and then decided a bigger church was necessary there. Four lots, on the east side of Fifth Street, between Green and Walnut, were purchased and Abell began to build the second church of St. Louis. He not only directed the work, but several times, impatient at delay, took off his coat and worked all day with the workmen. In 1830 it was opened for services, and the old church was closed.

Soon after his return from Whitfield's consecration Flaget found

himself in a totally new position, being brought before a court of law in Union County. He had to explain why he had ignored two previous calls of that court. A Mr. Alvey (probably either John F. or Robert, whose names are listed as belonging to the mission of Union County) had sued Father Chabrat, and Flaget was called as witness. The first summons reached him after the court met, the second found him on the way to Baltimore. After explaining his previous absences, Flaget then went on to declare his love for the country and respect for its laws. So far as the case itself was concerned he could contribute nothing to the court's knowledge. He was treated with great deference by the lawyers and judge while at Morganfield.¹⁵

In June, 1829, he and Abell started on his fifth visitation of Indiana, where he proclaimed and preached the Jubilee of 1825, extended by special privilege to these missions. At New Albany Flaget offered Mass in a private home, there being not many more than a half-dozen Catholic families in that town. They then visited a small settlement of French at the Knobs; the people here were still going over to Kentucky for religious services. Going along the Louisville-Vincennes road, they stopped at Mt. Pleasant, then an important shipping point on the White River; here seventy received Communion and thirty-one received the sacrament of Confirmation. At Black Oak Ridge (now Montgomery) he confirmed forty-seven. These families were immigrants from Kentucky parishes.

At Washington there was no church, so they preached at the courthouse. On June 17 they reached Vincennes, and the next day, the feast of Corpus Christi, began a week's mission in celebration of the Jubilee. At nine o'clock every day the Bishop had the High Mass and preached. In the evening there were other devotions, Flaget preached again in his kindly paternal manner with Abell following him in the pulpit. The "American Catholics" delighted in the hours of Abell's magnetism. Flaget confirmed ninety-two here, while over three hundred received Communion. Marriages were validated, sinners converted and again approached the Sacraments. At Vincennes, Champonier was still struggling against the trustees and the indifference and poverty of his flock.

Shortly after this visit of Flaget's he gave up and left for France. On July 12 Flaget returned to Kentucky by way of Washington, Mt. Pleasant, and Henderson, Kentucky. An escort of horsemen accompanied him part of the way.

A few months later, in September, Rosati again came through Bardstown to pick up Flaget and David for the First Provincial Council of Baltimore. Bishop England had tried for ten years to get Maréchal to call such a council, but the latter did not like England's ideas and feared that he might foist them upon the others. Actually England was concerned about national discipline and felt that a national council would aid in the prevention of such schisms as had disgraced Philadelphia.

The Hogan schism had continued even after the principal had left town. Poor Bishop Conwell had finally made such an abject surrender to the trustees that all the bishops were amazed. It was said that "Ashly, the chief contriver of all that mischief grew ashamed and begged him not to carry his concessions too far." Flaget wrote to the Archbishop to set forth his views on the subject. England wrote to Whitfield's Vicar-General, Father Tessier, in June of 1828, pointing out the necessity of a council to settle the Philadelphia affair. Over a year before this Flaget and David were privately trying to bring this about by writing to Bruté and others in the East about the matter. In the last week of May, 1827, Flaget asked Tessier to consider an idea of his to facilitate the calling of such a council. He proposed a meeting of the bishops at Pittsburgh at a time when "navigation would be easy." He preferred this place to any other because it was a central point and all the roads to that city made it possible to get there from anywhere; the expenses would not be half of what would be required for Baltimore; both Bishops of Bardstown could attend this central point, but they could not leave the diocese at the same time to go to Baltimore. These reasons were even more valid for Rosati. Flaget begged Bruté to sound out as many people as possible on the probability of the success of his plan and to let him know at once his ideas. Bishop England, having charged against the stone wall of Maréchal's opposition to a council for ten years, would have smiled wryly had he heard Flaget say, "Msgr. David

and I are beginning to be convinced that a national council would be very useful for these deplorable circumstances. It is also your opinion as well as that of several other friends no less respected for their talents than for their piety. . . . I know that Msgr. of Charleston will enter wholeheartedly in the idea of holding a council. We feel ourselves the necessity not only of putting an end if possible to a deplorable [situation?] and to the divisions which are rending the diocese of Philadelphia, but also to prove to the Catholic world that there is now a hierarchy in the U.S. and that the bishops are assembling there to establish general rules of discipline and to prove that they are taking part in the interests and glory of our holy religion."¹⁶

The two Bishops of Bardstown were further convinced of the necessity of their plans by the entry of Father Harold into the Philadelphia situation. That erratic and proud Dominican was removed from his position and then suspended by Conwell who gave no reason for this action. Harold eventually appealed to the United States government. The Bardstown men could see little difference between his actions and those of Hogan. David wrote a kindly letter to the priest, urging him to withdraw from the ranks of the lay trustees who were only flattering him for their own use and pleaded with him either to reconcile himself with his bishop or else appeal to Rome. England told them that it might be very difficult to bring Harold to his senses, while Kenrick wrote to the Congregation of the Propaganda. This Harold affair made the two Bishops of Bardstown more than ever aware of the "necessity of a meeting of the bishops." David was eager to put into effect Flaget's plan to meet in Pittsburgh, as he felt that at least five of the bishops could reach there by boat and that perhaps the Bishops of New York and Boston could go down the Allegheny to Pittsburgh. Although he knew Providence would provide, nevertheless they did not have the means to go to Baltimore.¹⁷ David's letter drew a reply from Harold, who excused himself with the assertion that he had no part in the declarations of the meeting of the malcontents, but at the same time declaring that they had the right of law. David again stoutly counseled him to make his peace with Bishop Conwell, but if he were not success-

ful in that to take his cause to Rome "without permitting the laity to make a permanent bunch of monkeys out of the ecclesiastics."¹⁸

In March, 1828, Father Harold and another Dominican who had joined him in his stand, a Father John Ryan, were ordered by the Vicar-General of the Dominicans to report to Bishop Fenwick in Cincinnati. This brought about Harold's appeal to the government to protect him against these ecclesiastical orders. Three months later the faculties of both priests were withdrawn. In July, following instructions of the Holy See, Bishop Conwell sailed for Rome. Father William Matthews of Washington, D. C., was appointed Apostolic Administrator of Philadelphia. The two Dominicans soon afterward left for Ireland; the decade-long schism was practically over when Archbishop Whitfield called together the first Provincial Council of Baltimore on October 1, 1829.

When Rosati stopped at Bardstown on his way to Baltimore he found the Bishops in a dilemma; both had intended to go up to ten days before his arrival. Then, "the lively performance of several of our Mexicans of the college proved that the presence of one of us was necessary and I could not consent to take his place in the Council," reported David, so it was finally decided to leave the Coadjutor although this was not definitely fixed until after Rosati's arrival. The Bishop of St. Louis complained so earnestly against leaving either that Flaget hesitated several times, for he too had wanted to take David. The latter also had wished to see his old friends in Baltimore, but accepted without difficulty Flaget's decision.¹⁹ The official reason given for his absence was his ill-health. Father Kenrick accompanied the two Bishops who went over to Cincinnati to pick up its Bishop.

On September 30, 1829, there assembled at the Archbishop's house in Baltimore the most important meeting of the American Church since that attended by the first bishops of Carroll (Flaget, Cheverus, and Egan) nineteen years before. There were present Archbishop Whitfield and five Bishops: Flaget of Bardstown, England of Charleston, Edward D. Fenwick of Cincinnati, Rosati of St. Louis, Benedict Fenwick of Boston, and Father Matthews representing Philadelphia. Dubois of New York and Portier of

Alabama were in Europe. Conwell returned but was not given a seat in the Council, although he conferred with the others during the proceedings. Bishop Benedict Fenwick was elected promotor; Father Edward Damphoux, secretary; and Father Kenrick, assistant secretary. The Superior of the Jesuits in the United States and a European official of the Sulpicians then visiting the House of the United States were invited to attend. Tessier, Louis Deluol, and Edward Damphoux were theologians to the Archbishop; Kenrick to Flaget, Bruté to England, DeBarth to Fenwick of Cincinnati, Jeanjean to Rosati, Blanc to Fenwick of Boston, and Michael Wheeler to Matthews. Father John Power, Vicar-General of New York, was admitted later to represent Bishop Dubois of New York. Toward the end of the Council, Roger Brooke Taney, John Scott, and William G. Read were admitted to advise the Bishops on legal matters. Taney, whose great career lay still before him, gave excellent service to the Council. Here, for the first time Flaget and England met, and each was charmed by the other. Flaget made the gracious gesture, so often recorded, of kissing England's hand, as he said, "Allow me to kiss the hand which has written so many fine things." The Irishman was not to be outdone and his reply, "Permit me to kiss the hands which have *done* so much good," cemented a mutual admiration and friendship.

The sessions of the Council lasted from October 1 to October 18. The Archbishop pontificated at the first private session on Sunday, October 4; Bishop England preached; and the Bishop of Boston presented the pallium to the Archbishop. At the second session, October 5, Flaget pontificated, as did the rest of the Bishops on the following days. Thirty-eight decrees came out of this august assembly, laying the cornerstone of ecclesiastical discipline in this country. Among them the most important were those regulating clerical discipline, the relation of religious orders to the bishop of their territory, church property, and the creation of Catholic elementary schools. The Council also adopted the letter Flaget wrote, thanking the Society for the Propagation of the Faith of Lyons for its generous assistance to the Church of the United States. *The Pastoral to the Laity* and *The Pastoral to the*

Clergy were both written by Bishop England. The former was printed in French as well as in English, but this was the last time it was done. The laity were told of the growth of the faith in the United States, the need for priests and for Catholic education, attendance at Mass, the reading of Scripture, and of unity among the faithful, and were warned of the attacks on the faith, of trusteeism, and of the prevailing false liberalism. Of the *Pastoral to the Clergy* the historian, Guilday, says, "Dr. England neglected no aspect of sacerdotal life in these pages, and the *Pastoral* stands today, as it did then, one of the clearest mirrors of priestly zeal and devotion in the English language." The work of the Council, with minor changes, was approved by the Holy See shortly thereafter. After the official close of the Council, the prelates went to pay their compliments to old Charles Carroll, the only surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence. Flaget and his companions then turned their steps homeward.

David was at this time approaching seventy years of age, so was naturally relieved to have his two friends back at Bardstown. That year Flaget was telling Bruté that David was no longer the same man he had known, that his whole physical being had grown weak. Soon after their return he, Flaget, and Badin went over to Nazareth in bitter weather and David took such a cold that his asthma again attacked him and he was confined to his room for almost a month. Poor David had for several years now frequent sieges of illness; he tried dieting until his shorts became so loose they fell down; his headaches grew worse; chanting and playing the organ became more and more tiring. He ceased to preach at the Cathedral, but on the other hand preached as often as three times a week at Nazareth. The editors of the *Metropolitan* wanted him to write for it, but he found his other occupations interfered too much for any sustained writing. He wrote to the Bishop of Boston to urge moderation in the tone of the *Jesuit*, but received no answer to that plea. The seminary was still his main problem; by this period students from other dioceses were being received. In 1828 Bishop Fenwick of Cincinnati sent there two young men, Henni and Kundig, who were to make their reputations in the diocese of Milwaukee. That same year Gabriel

Richard sent from Detroit a young lawyer and territorial judge who was anxious to study under Flaget; the thirty-two-year-old Robertson came to Bardstown to be baptized and confirmed by the Bishops. That was another strain on David, who had to start with him from scratch in his training, he having no knowledge of Latin or the Catholic religion.

Another convert who came to study at the seminary created some problems. After a short sojourn there he decided that he ought to study at the Propaganda in Rome, and an application was made for him. One may be much amused at this incident. He seemed to have decided to go to one of the other American bishops, and carried with him a letter that is faintly suggestive of the coded one sent by Cardinal Richelieu that contained another message between its lines. David felt the young man had not a single bad intention, but was rather a man of "ego and self-infatuation." This convert had evidently not yet realized that good seminarians do not try to pass notes to Sisters, "who were then, without being scandalized, very annoyed with my young ecclesiastic." He departed for the East, with David's blessings as "a voyageur who has lost his way." However, they did send students to the Propaganda: Martin J. Spalding and James Lancaster, the first students of the diocese to be sent to Rome for study, left on April 14, 1830. Several priests were ordained in these few years. Among them were Daniel Kelley, Joseph Rogers, Charles J. Cissell; L. Picot and Charles I. Coomes were ordained in 1830. Coomes, Edward Quinn, William Whelan, and Edward Clark were ordained deacons in September, 1830, so the others were probably ordained at the time Coomes was raised to the priesthood.

The visit of Flaget to the Baltimore diocesan establishments had stirred up old memories and renewed his interest and David's also in those institutions. The new superior of the Sulpicians, Father Carrière, did not stir in them any enthusiasm, but the trip of one of Bruté's colleagues to Rome aroused their avid interest. Whitfield was thinking of suppressing the theological courses at Bruté's college, and Kenrick astonished the two prelates by his forecast concerning the intentions of the young Father

McGerry's visit to Rome and what his trip would mean to the seminary and archdiocese of Baltimore. Flaget's stand in regard to Whitfield's desire to suppress the teaching of theology at Mt. St. Mary's was expressive of the whole attitude of the Bishops of Bardstown; they tried to steer clear of any dissension or controversy; it would take one ignorant of their ways to accuse them of belonging to a "French faction" or any other faction. The necessity of keeping theology on the curriculum of Emmitsburg was so expedient, declared Flaget, that "we were one heart and soul in desiring it. Don't tell this to the Metropolitan. He would think us rebels. Now we poor Kentuckians need everybody and desire to live in peace with the whole world and although always . . . free to give our opinion we rejoice when our opinion is counted as nothing and set aside according to its just merits."²⁰

Another delicate matter which faced Flaget immediately after his return from the Council concerned the institution of slavery. A slave living next to the plantation of Loretto sued for his freedom, after being in slavery for over twenty years. He had been sold in Maryland to Dubois for use on the plantation there, and Dubois had sold him to Urban Guillet, who in turn had sold him to Thomas Livers. Flaget was concerned over this phase of the case, although he stated that all of them desired that the truth be known as freedom was too precious a right to be refused to one who had a right to it,²¹ but feeling it would be a scandal to find that two priests had sold a free person.

A half year after his return from the Council, at nine o'clock in the evening of May 1, a package was delivered into the Bishop's hands. He noted that it came from the Archbishop and a presentiment of foreboding filled his soul and body, an anguish of spirit engulfed him. Could this already be an answer to the recommendations of the Council of Baltimore on the solution of Philadelphia's troubles? Would this demand of him a sacrifice he would find difficult to bear? Or had Rome heeded his plea accepting his resignation in favor of the younger man he would make bishop of Bardstown? Sinking to his knees, he committed the affair to God and resigned himself to His will. Then he opened the package to learn that Rome had listened to the assembled bishops,

that Francis Patrick Kenrick was nominated coadjutor bishop to the see of Philadelphia. The Bishop of Bardstown did not sleep that night, and could not find the courage to deliver the package to Kenrick until the next evening. As he handed it to the young Irishman he dolefully observed: "Behold here the certificate of the Cross you will have to carry."

When the Council of 1829 had met, the schism of Philadelphia was practically at an end, but a new difficulty had arisen in the incapacity of the Bishop of that see. It was feared that because of his failing faculties new trouble might appear. He was recalled to Rome to give a detailed report on his diocese. The Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda received him graciously and promised him financial assistance. But it soon became apparent that Conwell had no intention of making such a report, so the Prefect asked him to sign a declaration that he would not return to Philadelphia, although he could go to any other place in the world. In return he was again promised all the funds he needed. Conwell made no answer to this request, but on April 19, at midnight, left Rome. A letter was sent after him, warning that if he returned to Philadelphia, his episcopal jurisdiction, *ipso facto*, would be suspended. He went to Paris and there the Papal Nuncio talked to him, but soon discovered that he was talking to an old man whose reason was impaired. Conwell sent an answer back to the Propaganda suggesting several names for his coadjutor. On August 31 he left Paris, and the Propaganda then sent word to America of the suspension of his episcopal faculties as well as reporting to Whitfield all the actions of Conwell during his stay in Rome. The Council had barely started when Conwell arrived in Baltimore. He was not permitted a voice in the Council, nor would Whitfield allow him to celebrate Mass. After much discussion of the affair, the Bishops decided to have Flaget write to Rome to request leniency for the erring Bishop. Flaget did this in his usual benign way, telling the Holy See that the American Bishops favored benevolence toward Conwell, and that his return had not caused trouble. Flaget said that his weak mind and not his ill will was to be blamed. Whitfield did not sign this letter of the Bishops, but later wrote one of his own in behalf of "this poor

old man, weak in mind and body, broken in health." The Archbishop proposed only one name as a coadjutor, that of Kenrick. Bishop Conwell also eventually proposed Kenrick. Finally, the Council as a body had the same mind. Flaget's was the only voice raised against this nomination. The Cardinal Prefect recommended this appointment to the general meeting of the Congregation despite Flaget's protests. On March 7, after making the appointment, the Congregation wrote Flaget that it had not ignored his pleas but that the general good of the Church required the action and it hoped Flaget would "with a fervent soul sacrifice his desires in this matter to God."²² Kenrick was not only coadjutor, he was to have the entire administration of the diocese, although Conwell was to be treated with the dignity of a bishop.

In the ten years of his service in the diocese of Bardstown Kenrick had made himself almost indispensable to the two Bishops. His first book on theology appeared during this time, while his tact, zeal, piety, and knowledge of theology had made a vivid impression upon all the clergy of Kentucky. His controversies with several Protestant ministers, growing out of his preaching the Jubilee of 1825, had made him a well-known figure. The publication of the *Letters of Omega and Omicron*, a refutation of the attack of the president of the Danville Presbyterian College on the doctrine of the Real Presence in the Holy Eucharist brought him national attention, especially in Catholic circles. The letters of Flaget and David of the years 1828 to 1830 are filled with pleased references to these twenty-one *Letters*. Flaget always highly praised the work of Kenrick to everyone, the authorities of Rome not excepted. As an alumnus of the College of Propaganda, Kenrick gave periodical reports on the state of religion in not only his diocese but also in the country, so he was not unknown in the Holy City. His selection for the most difficult post in the American hierarchy was perhaps not inevitable, but his promotion to a bishopric would have been only a matter of time.

Because of his affection for his beloved Bishop as well as through his desire to soften the blow of separation, Kenrick chose Flaget for his consecrator. He thus became the fourth bishop to be conse-

crated by Flaget; had he chosen Whitfield his episcopal lineage would, of course, have still gone back to Carroll. Unknown to him then Flaget was also consecrating his second archbishop because Kenrick later became the sixth archbishop of Baltimore.

When it became known that Bardstown was to see another episcopal consecration there was a good deal of preparation for the occasion. On May 30 Bishop England arrived in Louisville accompanied by Father Theodore S. Badin. These two took part in the laying of the cornerstone of the new church in Louisville; Bishop England was already allowing the Kentuckians to hear his eloquent voice even before the consecration. In writing of him to Bruté Flaget said, "What do you think of all the fine compliments which we in Kentucky paid to the illustrious orator of the South? The impression which the talks of Dr. England have made on the citizens of Kentucky and Ohio will never be erased as long as they live." Flaget went on to say that this general admiration all had for the great Bishop caused him to conceive a grand idea. He would have all the Bishops of America petition the Supreme Pontiff to make England chief of missionaries of America, so that the great talents of this extraordinary man could be at the disposal of all the Bishops. The idea was "very dear to his heart" because of the amazing good Bishop England had done while at Bardstown. England had preached a couple times in Louisville; the mayor, leading lawyers, and even Protestant ministers listening eagerly to the Catholic bard of the South. After the consecration he became ill and several engagements made for him had to be filled by Father Elder, who was now back as President of St. Joseph's College, and Bishop Flaget. The latter felt greatly humbled by the eloquence of England, and was not happy to have to take his place in preaching. Flaget always placed a lower estimate on his own preaching than did his hearers. Although his pronunciation was not perfect, his sweetness and naturalness was, and those who heard him were almost always delighted with those qualities.

On Holy Trinity Sunday, June 6, 1830, the consecration of Kenrick took place. Bishop Conwell and Bishop David were the coconsecrators. Bishop England ascended the pulpit just before

the chanting of the Litany of the Saints to give the audience of the closely packed cathedral all it expected. Bishop Edward D. Fenwick and about twenty priests were seated in the spacious sanctuary. The Sisters of Charity and Loretto occupied other vantage points while the boys of St. Joseph's College were in the choir loft. About three thousand witnessed the ceremony. The dinner following was held in the seminary. A few days later Flaget, with a heavy heart, watched Kenrick depart with Bishop Conwell, although comforted by Bishop England who remained with him for some weeks, visiting the various establishments with Flaget, preaching on many occasions, and in every possible way trying to help the dejected Bishop to get used to the absence of his secretary.

Eleven

THE decade of the thirties presents a peculiar chapter in the history of the Catholic Church in the United States. As if to symbolize its character, February, 1830, witnessed the founding of the newspaper *The Protestant*, whose object was to "expose" the danger of Roman Catholicism to the republic. Within a short time its bigotry, together with the fulminations of assorted Protestant ministers and various other circumstances, brought about an avid, vicious anti-Catholic movement within the country which culminated in the Know-Nothing party. This crusade against "Romanism" led to the burning of St. Mary's Church of New York in 1831 and of the Charleston convent outside Boston in 1834, the scurrilous attacks on Roger Brooke Taney upon his appointment to the office of attorney general, and many other such incidents. Yet cultured Protestants were generally disturbed by the tone of *The Protestant* and its imitators.

Although the violence of this movement was very upsetting and resulted in some losses, there was at the same time a marvelous growth in the life of the Church. The Catholic population was estimated to be around 600,000 in 1830. By the beginning of the next decade that number had increased to about 1,300,000 with almost 500 priests in the 15 dioceses. A native priesthood at last had been created. There were 2 Provincial Councils during the thirties, and 11 bishops were consecrated. These included Francis Patrick Kenrick for Philadelphia, Leo de Neckère and Anthony Blanc for New Orleans, Guy Chabrat as coadjutor for Kentucky, John B. Purcell for Cincinnati, John Hughes as coadjutor for New York, Samuel Eccleston for Baltimore, for sees already in existence;

and for the new sees, Frederick Résé for Detroit, Simon Bruté for Vincennes, Matthias Loras for Dubuque, and Richard Miles, O.P., for Nashville. Leo de Neckère, C.M., was consecrated by Rosati shortly after Kenrick's ceremony, but he was to live only three years after this event. Flaget had nominated De Neckère for New Orleans as early as 1826. Bishop Edward D. Fenwick while on an extensive visitation of his diocese died at Wooster, Ohio, on September 26, 1832, of the cholera. Just prior to this he had proposed as coadjutor for himself Father Peter Kenney, S.J., of Georgetown, and Father Résé as first bishop of Detroit. England, who was in Rome a little later, wrote Rosati that the Jesuits were working hard to prevent Kenney's appointment while the Dominicans were working just as hard to secure a member of their own order, preferably Father Miles. Fenwick had written to Whitfield, Flaget, and Rosati asking them to second his nominations and the two Bishops did this, although Flaget felt Kenney's nomination would not be approved because of his age. Father Kenney was absolutely opposed to the promotion and asked the Archbishop to write Rome in that tone.

Kenrick proposed to Rosati the name of Father John Purcell, president of Mt. St. Mary's but both Rosati and Flaget were more inclined to John Hughes of New York. At Rome the Propaganda nominated Résé for Detroit, as Bishop Fenwick had requested, and asked England his opinion of Hughes and Purcell. England told them all he knew of the two and said that either would be acceptable for Cincinnati. Whitfield had not proposed Purcell at all and was strongly opposed to his nomination, seeming to feel that two Irishmen were enough for the American hierarchy, so he wrote Rome a letter against Purcell's elevation. England then talked very freely to the cardinals about the situation, Cardinal Weld exerted his influence, and the briefs of nomination of Purcell were soon on their way to America despite the Archbishop's stand.

Whitfield had also been concerned about losing a capable priest, especially in the government of the college. Coming to America from Ireland at the age of eighteen, Purcell had studied at Mt. St. Mary's, but completed his theological studies at St. Sulpice in

Paris, where he was ordained. He returned to become professor at Mt. St. Mary's, vice-president in 1828, and president in 1829. On October 13, 1833, he was consecrated by Whitfield with Dubois and Kenrick as coconsecrators.

Just a week before this Résé had been consecrated by Bishop Rosati at Cincinnati. Frederick Résé, the first German bishop in the United States, had labored zealously under Fenwick in the Northwest and although Fenwick had wanted him as his coadjutor, Résé was more interested in Michigan and the Northwest. He had been partly responsible for the foundation of the Munich and Vienna Societies which aided so greatly the Church of America. However, this first Bishop of Detroit, which had so long concerned Flaget, was an unfortunate choice because he became involved in difficulties from the very beginning of his episcopate. An excellent and exemplary priest, he proved a poor bishop. In 1837 he presented his resignation to the prelates assembled for the Provincial Council, and soon afterward went to Europe. He returned but his diocese was placed in the hands of administrators and finally in 1841 Paul Lefevre was made bishop-administrator. Before these consecrations occurred the Catholics of the diocese of Bardstown had their own peculiar excitement as they also received a new bishop.

After the consecration of Kenrick and the departure of all the guests, Bishop Flaget suffered an attack of profound melancholy. Sensitive, tenderhearted, nervous, and much too conscientious, he began to have scruples of conscience about his administration of the diocese, his ability, and the burden of responsibility he bore. The more he discussed his affairs the more convinced he became that all that went wrong was his own fault. The Bishop felt that after twenty years of the episcopate it was time to turn the government of the diocese over to his Coadjutor, who had been in the background too long. He finally wrote to Rome offering his resignation and asking that a younger man be appointed in his place. While he was at St. Louis visiting with Rosati he received word that David had been named second Bishop of Bardstown, with Chabrat appointed as his coadjutor. This could mean peace in retirement. However, the letter of

David's announcing the news was filled with reproaches that Flaget could have done this thing to his old friend. All the Catholics of Kentucky were in an uproar, laity as well as clergy, vehemently opposed his retirement and were loud in their clamor against the change. Not even Chabrat approved it. Flaget had given as excuse his advancing age and poor health; David who was two years older than he humorously noted that Flaget had really shown "his *infirmity* by a journey of several hundred miles on horseback in a long, arduous visitation of his diocese." Rosati was aghast at the whole proceedings and decided to return with Flaget to Bardstown. There it was soon found by the two that the report of universal dissatisfaction had not been exaggerated; no one wanted Flaget to retire and no one felt that he should do so. Rosati spent three weeks wandering around the parishes and institutions talking to the more intelligent laymen and the most prominent of the priests before reaching a decision. After the three Bishops celebrated a Mass for enlightenment on the feast of St. John, in the last days of 1832, they held a conference and Flaget agreed to resume his place if the Holy See consented. David sent a petition to this effect to Rome, and Rosati wrote an urgent letter to the Cardinal Prefect advocating Flaget's reappointment, while the Bishop wrote that he would be willing to abide by their wishes. The second bishop of Bardstown immediately bestowed upon the other the "whole administrative powers" which he began to exercise at once. So, for all practical purposes, Flaget really remained bishop, although for a few months David had the name.

Half of 1833 was over before the answer came from Rome—Flaget was reinstated, so was now the third bishop of Bardstown, and David's resignation was accepted. Nothing was said of a coadjutor, hence Flaget was in a far worse position than ever, for he now had none. David was still worried because of this new situation, fearful lest something should happen to force him into the position for which he felt totally unfitted. As he said: "The great burden that terrified me, that crushed me, the charge of so extensive a diocese was taken away from me. The six or eight months it bore on my poor, weak, sickly head were the most

tedious of my life. . . . Alas! it is only suspended and leaves a dread of returning again.”¹

The mere mention of Chabrat as coadjutor caused some of the priests to shudder. But neither Flaget nor David could see any cause for alarm over their choice. They felt that both had no other interest than the good of the diocese and that no one knew Kentucky better than this first son in Christ of Flaget’s. The latter was very annoyed over the opposition, claiming that “in fact the clergy and the people agree that Mr. Chabrat is worthy of the episcopate, but they cannot as good republicans forgive me for having named him myself . . . even my colleagues the bishops. . . . I shall receive your observations on this question with the same pleasure that I receive all your letters.”²

Despite his warm regard for Chabrat a gentle rebuke could be expected from the Bishop even toward his favorite priest if he felt the circumstances warranted it. He could hint politely to Chabrat as well as to Badin. The former did not appear at the Cathedral during the ceremonies of Holy Week, so the Bishop good-naturedly remarked that Cissel and Coomes must have been less busy than Chabrat as these two had come to edify the public. He concluded his remarks by saying that he knew Chabrat had probably over a hundred reasons to dispense him so he should not allege them in his answer, as the Bishop was well convinced that “being a good canonist your conscience is perfectly at ease.” The next year, 1833, although Chabrat was nominated for the coadjutorship, Flaget had the same complaint. Chabrat’s conscience must have hurt this time, for he replied to Flaget in injured innocence. Flaget told him that he was mistaken in thinking that the Bishop was insinuating in speaking of the zeal of Father Elder during Holy Week and of his exactness in assisting him in all the ceremonies. He only told Chabrat about this as he thought the good Elder was trying to make up to them so they would forget the many pranks he had played upon them; that his remarks were an indirect reproach was totally in the head of Chabrat and not the Bishop. However, this allowed the Bishop to express his feeling about it and he told Chabrat, “I shall add, however, that all the priests could on that day remain

with their congregations under a pretext equally as plausible as yours . . . and what would be the result of this fine zeal? It would be this: the Bishop, who according to the ceremony should have twelve priests, twelve deacons, etc. would scarcely have two priests for this august ceremony, and this year I had but three which surely looked very mean and was much calculated to bring forth sombre and melancholy thoughts . . . but the joyous song of the Alleluias and the superb decoration of our Cathedral have made me forget all."³

David maintained that as soon as "the first fermentations subsided the talents of Chabrat would surmount these obstacles." That the opposition to Chabrat was known outside the diocese is seen by David's observation that Bishop Purcell was pleasantly surprised by the general manner of Chabrat when he met him for he had expected something else, as well as by the fact that the Second Provincial Council of Baltimore did not take any action to second Flaget's choice of him. His opponents suggested that Chabrat did not have enough ecclesiastical learning, but the Bishops of Bardstown were not at all convinced of this nor did they feel that his elevation would be disagreeable to the majority but only to a factious and vociferous minority. Finally, on June 27, the bulls of nomination of Chabrat as coadjutor arrived at Bardstown, and the three invited Bishop Purcell to come over to Bardstown to act as a coconsecrator and preacher. On July 20, 1834, the consecration of "his first son in Christ" took place in the Bardstown Cathedral, with the assistance of David and Father Miles, the Dominican, as Bishop Purcell was unable to attend. Not all the thirty-five priests of the diocese were happy as the fifth Bishop consecrated by Flaget left the Cathedral. But David, as well as Flaget, was at ease. Since he had already given up the rectorship of the seminary, David remained only the ecclesiastical superior of Nazareth.

This difficulty over the bishopric caused such unrest in the diocese that repercussions were unavoidable until the matter was finally settled. The college continued to give the Bishops uneasiness and a difficulty with the trustees had to be settled by the Bishop taking over authority again. Reynolds had not been satisfied by

his position and asked to be relieved of it. He was sent over to Louisville and George Elder was recalled to the presidency. However, he was the same man he had been three years before, with the result that soon there was the usual complaint about the lack of discipline, the corruption of the Louisianians, and the neglect of any spiritual life. His colleagues again groaned over his indulgence.⁴ The number of boarders steadily declined from over a hundred to sixty. The establishment of other colleges in the West and South undoubtedly had some effect on that of Bardstown. The priests were not as eager to serve there as in the parishes. Flaget hoped that the return of his students from the College of Propaganda might result in a better situation. He was one bishop who did not look askance at Bishop England's proposal to secure more priests from Ireland, but on the contrary asked England for a mathematician, a man of letters, and a preacher. He hoped that with these, the Spaldings and Lancaster from Rome, and those already at the college, he could "bring the college up to a standard which will preserve or perhaps increase the public favor which it already enjoys."⁵ Reynolds was not the only one to resign from the college. Byrne was made vice-president in 1831, but after a few months of this he became disgusted and went back to St. Mary's. Edward McMahon, ordained around 1823, and since that time generally teaching at the college left in 1830 for a parish in Lexington. He even wanted to join Kenrick in Philadelphia, but did not take this extreme step. However, Father David Mulholland, ordained a year or so after McMahon, after serving the congregation of St. Michael on Cox's Creek for about five years, left the diocese sometime after 1830. Father Charles Cissel died, the health of Linus Coomes broke, Durbin became tired and ill, and Reynolds got either a nervous stomach or ulcers. Some of these things preceded and others of them followed Flaget's resignation. One great consolation was the first coming of the Jesuits to the diocese, another was the expressions of friendship and esteem spoken for him in the two halls of the United States Congress.

Flaget was never satisfied to rest upon his laurels. It was no empty phrase, no vacuity that caused him to say he was constantly

seeking to improve the conditions of his Kentuckians and the diocese. He was never satisfied to say that he had enough religious institutions. Always an ardent admirer of the Jesuits, in one of his letters to his brother in France he had mentioned that he wished he had the Society in his diocese. When the situation of St. Joseph's College made the Bishop feel it necessary to force the resignation of Father George Elder, although the latter had felt Flaget would not take that step, there was a need and place for the Society in Bardstown. Flaget, in one way or another, let this be known, probably through Father Abell then in France. However, the Jesuits were not able at the time to accept his offer. Later conditions made it possible, so without waiting for word from Flaget, four Jesuits were sent from France to Bardstown. They arrived in New Orleans in February, 1831, and Bishop De Neckère persuaded them to remain until after Easter. From there they wrote Flaget of their imminent arrival. This placed the Bishop in a dilemma, for he felt the college could not be turned over to them without warning under the circumstances. He wrote them of this, and as there had been no definite decision before, there was no breach of contract. On the other hand, he urged them to come to Bardstown, as he was anxious to obtain their services. In June, 1831, Father Peter Chazelle, S.J., and Father Nicholas Petit, S.J., arrived at Bardstown to receive a warm welcome from the Bishop. Father Chazelle was a native of France and a man of as much energy as Byrne. David stated that "he is admired and loved by all those who have the good fortune to know him. He combines great talents with the most edifying piety and the most attractive manners. I do not doubt that God has destined him for grand things."⁶ The small, stoutly built Petit had been born at Haiti and his father was killed in the Negro insurrection there. His mother brought the children to Baltimore, where she conducted a school and the boy learned English. At twelve he returned with the family to France. Upon his return to the United States he was surprised to learn that he had not forgotten his English entirely as he had thought. Flaget found him useful at once, while Chazelle had to learn the language at St. Mary's. Petit was stationed at the Cathedral under Father

H. C. de Luynes. The two priests were, for several months, used in a variety of work while Flaget tried to effect some arrangement for their permanence.

As giving St. Joseph's to them seemed out of question Flaget began to consider the possibility of St. Mary's. Father Byrne was not happy about it and fought the proposal vigorously for several months. By this time the Jesuits were worrying about their duty, whether they ought to remain at Bardstown. After discussing the subject with the Bishop, he proposed that they make a novena for guidance, and at the end of this an unexpected letter came from Byrne. He not only withdrew his opposition, but offered the entire college to the Bishop for the Jesuits with no condition or compensation. He would also remain to introduce them to the work and the people. He had just built a new "splendid building" besides the one already in use. He ceded this to the Bishop "with the plantation of 310 acres, a good estate, with all the utensils of work, all the animals, and the college, with all his household goods, and all that without asking a single compensation . . . then, he will go to join his family and his compatriots in Jackson's Purchase near the junction of the Ohio and the Tennessee with the intention of starting there another establishment like the one he leaves. . . . This is a man of truly extraordinary composition."

The Jesuits applied to the Provincial for fifteen more members, and the house of Byrne was made ready to receive them. St. Mary's was a charming, solitary, and wholesome place. There they decided also to establish a novitiate. They took over St. Mary's College in the fall of 1831, with Byrne's aid, and in a short time, by May, 1832, others joined them. Brother Corne came up from Louisiana and took charge of the farm. When Father Chazelle took over the presidency of the college in September, 1833, after Byrne's death, the faculty was entirely French, consisting of Chazelle, Petit, Thomas Legouais, Vital Gilles, Simon Fouché, and Evremond Harrissart. The last two joined the Society immediately after its advent in Kentucky. The Jesuits naturally also made themselves useful to the Bishop in various other tasks; Father Petit took over the church of St. Charles, which was near

the college and they served as confessors to the religious. They also gave retreats. Abell made an eight-day retreat there, and it produced such a good effect that he engaged himself to stay as a teacher. David felt that it would be a good thing if Abell joined the Society, as nothing less than the strict obedience demanded in that organization would subdue "that character so excessively republican." So came the Jesuits to Bardstown, and from there went those who established the foundations of Fordham University.

While this difficult situation was being so happily adjusted, Flaget had the pleasure of seeing another one, which had been in process for several years, come to a like happy conclusion. Some years before, the Duke of Orleans, later King Louis Phillip of France, to show his appreciation of Father Flaget's kindness to him while the two were in Havana, presented Bishop Flaget with valuable gifts of vestments, paintings, books, and other articles. So had the King of Naples and Leo XII. To the Bardstown Cathedral came nine great paintings of the masters; among them are represented Van Eyck, Van Dyck, Murillo, and Reubens. Flaget had to pay a duty on these, but his Congressional friends were soon trying to secure a refund for him. Several times bills were introduced into Congress to secure this object and passed in the House but were lost in the hurry of the last days before adjournment in the Senate. Finally, on March 19 and March 21 Henry Clay and Charles Wickliffe got the bill safely through the Congress. This simple request met with the usual unreasoning, almost stupid, questioning of constitutionality along the lines of separation of Church and State. Senator George Poindexter of Mississippi questioned the bill on this issue, while E. K. Kane of Illinois felt there was no sense in this reasoning. John Tyler of Virginia spoke on the bill, without favoring or opposing it. Clay maintained that a person should not be deprived of that which he could claim as a citizen simply because he had another position, pointing out the injustice of refusing something to a man of religion that would be given cheerfully and unquestionably to a man of no religion. He stated this might be a principle of foreign governments, but was not that of the United States.

Through Clay's plea the bill was passed, without taking a count of the nays. In the House William Hogan of New York spoke of a Church and State issue. G. C. Verplanck of New York, member of the Ways and Means Committee which had reported out the bill gave the reasons upon which the Committee had acted. His final word on the subject was "enough and more than enough has been done to check this species of friendly intercourse and all those acts of kindness between different nations which were calculated to cause men to remember that they all formed parts of one great family . . . it is not gracious to tax the donations which our brethren abroad might be disposed to make to the institutions of the new world." After this explanation and an appeal by Wickliffe, who lived in Bardstown and was a friend of Flaget's, Hogan withdrew his opposition and the bill was passed.

The high tribute paid by Congressman Wickliffe not only reveals the personal friendship and high regard of an important public figure but also shows the sentiment of Flaget's Protestant neighbors, their pride in his character and achievements, and their interest in his institutions. It is informative and interesting from several standpoints. To the assembled Congressmen, Wickliffe said:

Mr. Speaker, the House will pardon me . . . while I trespass long enough upon their time to do justice to a worthy man, Bishop Flaget, for whose relief this bill is designed; he is my constituent and friend. He is a man who has devoted a life of near seventy years in dispensing acts of benevolence and the christian charities. He was once a resident of this District, having under his charge the valuable college of Georgetown, where his labors in the cause of science, morality, and religion, will long be remembered by all who knew him.

His destiny, or the orders of the church to which he belongs, placed him at the head of the Catholic church in Bairdstown, where, in the exercise of the duties of bishop and of philanthropist in his diocese, he has endeared himself to the community whose society he adorns. This is not all, sir. With his own means, aided by the liberal contribution of the members of his own church, and of individuals belonging to other denominations, he has built up a college, which is both the pride and ornament of the little village in which it is situated. In this college are taught all those branches of useful knowledge

and of science, which qualify man for the duties of life and its rational enjoyments. This college, without the aid of governmental endowment, brought into existence and sustained by individual enterprise, will lose nothing in comparison with any college in the Union. Sir, I believe it the best west of the mountains. In it are annually instructed about two hundred of the youth of our country, upon terms moderate. And we have in its discipline a perfect guaranty for the preservation of the morals of our young men. Its portals are opened to all denominations. Religious bigotry does not extend its unhallowed influences over the consciences of the professors or their pupils. The benevolence of its founder and its conductors is felt in all ranks of society. The orphan and the destitute find ready access to the benefits of this institution; and when there is an inability to pay the moderate charges of board and instruction, none are made. I will say nothing sir, of the immense amount of money expended on the buildings of this college.

Connected with this institution is the cathedral and church, the residence of Bishop Flaget. The expenditures incident to such an establishment as the two I have named, have been more than equal to the private means and contributions devoted to the purposes of the institution, and its founder has felt, and still feels, the consequent embarrassments. These embarrassments have been in some measure relieved by considerable donations of church furniture and college apparatus, from persons in Italy and France. The duties upon such articles have been remitted heretofore by the liberality of Congress. The articles upon which duties have been paid, and which the bill contemplates to refund, consist of paintings and other articles of church furniture, presented some years since by the then Duke of Orleans, now King of the French, to the Bishop of Bairdstown. He could not refuse to accept the offering; by accepting, however, he had to pay the duties which your revenue laws impose upon articles imported from abroad. These articles would not have been purchased and imported. They have not been brought into the country as merchandise, do not enter into the consumption of the country, and therefore do not, I humbly conceive, fall within the principle or spirit of your revenue system. They are specimens of art and taste, designed as ornaments to a house of public worship.

I trust, Mr. Speaker, that the circumstance that this application is in behalf of a Catholic bishop will not prejudice the mind of any member of this House. I am sure it does not the honorable member from New York. I would extend this relief

to any church or public institution, and to none sooner than the Catholic. I live among them. They are, like other denominations, honest in their religious opinions, content to worship in the mode their education and habits have taught them to believe to be right, and which their judgments approve. They are honest, industrious, and patriotic citizens, devoted to the free institutions of the country. I mean not to say they are more so than other denominations; certainly they are not less patriotic and liberal in their opinions and practices than others of my constituents. I hope the gentleman from New York will withdraw his opposition to this bill; the amount involved is small, but it is to the very worthy man, Bishop Flaget, at this time of much consequence. At least I shall look with confidence for the judgment of this House in favor of the passage of the bill.⁸

Clay's message concerning this action reached Flaget April 8, 1832, and the next day he replied, thanking the Kentucky Senator for his kindness in this affair as well as for the many others of the past. Clay was a Whig, and Wickliffe a Jacksonian Democrat. Flaget felt that their friendship and services to him in the national Congress were good evidence of his wisdom in "not meddling in politics." However, he told Clay that he had received from him his speech upon the tariff and that he had read it with much satisfaction as his convictions were the same as Clay's on that point. He also thought that the United States should be independent of Europe in every possible way. Regarding his own participation in politics he told his great friend: "Besides, when among my Catholics I perceive that some are influenced & directed by passion or personal motives, I try, to the best of my abilities, to check them, & bring them to what I deem, in my conscience, to be correct & profitable to our thrice Happy Country. I hope, with the assistance of Alty. God, I will never betray the confidence my fellow citizens have in me: & with a new fervour, I renew at this moment, the resolution I took in coming into this Country, forty years ago, to consecrate all my days & my labours to the good of the country I cheerfully adopted."⁹

These trials of the spirit that Flaget suffered during this period were intensified and joined by physical tribulations. The dreaded

cholera appeared all along the Atlantic seaboard and then spread to the interior in the summer of 1831 and reached a peak in 1833. Bishop Edward D. Fenwick, one of its victims, had been preceded in death by Gabriel Richard a short month previously. Flaget was still considerably concerned about the lack of a bishop in Indiana, and, as he felt that Catholic immigration there was making the problem more pressing each year, he arranged a meeting at Vincennes with Rosati in the fall of 1832 to discuss the possibility of more forcible representation to Rome. He had been in Louisville for an extended sojourn during the winter, and then had returned in February when the village was afflicted with a terrible flood which had submerged half the town. Sister Catherine Spalding was also there as superior of the school and she reported that it looked as though more than five hundred families would be homeless as a result of the flood. After this he returned to Bardstown, and then decided to make an extensive visitation of his diocese in upper Kentucky before his trip to Vincennes. While engaged in this, he heard that cholera had broken out in Louisville, whither he turned immediately.

As he hurried down to the stricken city, which was gripped by fear as well as by disease, he too wondered if this might not bring his life to an end. Even before reaching there he decided this might be a good thing for the Church in Kentucky, as it could inaugurate a better administration for the diocese. Flaget was still then suffering from his feeling of melancholy. On arriving in the city he found Father Abell, the pastor, working around the clock visiting the sick and administering the sacraments. Sister Angela Spink, the new superior of Nazareth elected only that past August (1831), sent three of her Sisters to help those already in Louisville in their task of nursing the sick. Within a few days after the coming of the Bishop the epidemic ceased, so he returned to Bardstown. In the fall Flaget went to Vincennes to meet Rosati, who persuaded him to go on to St. Louis for a visit. Immigration into Illinois and St. Louis was revealed by the increase in population, and the corresponding number of impressive religious institutions testified to the careful administration of Bishop Rosati. Flaget visited all his old congregations

and the house of the Sisters of Loretto. While on this trip he received the news of Rome's acceptance of his resignation, and with Rosati returned to Kentucky. A half year later, in May 1833, he had been reinstated in the bishopric.

That same spring disaster had again struck his diocese, as the cholera returned. However, this time the attack was more savage, its ravages more severe, and its results seen at close range, for it occurred in Bardstown and the surrounding counties. On the Monday of Pentecost it suddenly appeared in the house of a non-Catholic family of John Roberts, living some eight miles out of Bardstown. It was almost ten o'clock that morning as Bishop David walked to the railing and began his sermon. He had scarcely commenced when a Sister hurried up and handed him a note from Bishop Flaget. He read it, walked out of the sanctuary down to the seat of Mother Frances Gardiner (who had been elected only a short time before, Sister Angela resigning after a few months in office), and whispered to her earnestly for a few moments. She turned to two others, and these left the church to climb into the waiting carriage in which was also Father Reynolds. As the horses' hoofs drummed off into the distance the Sisters left in the church must have had a hard time following whatever David said thereafter. The Sisters of Charity who had left were the same ones who had been sent to Louisville the year before. The galloping horses soon covered the miles to the home that had been avoided by all the neighbors as if the Black Plague was again covering the earth. Two Sisters of Loretto were already there, and were soon joined by Bishop Flaget. The sight that greeted the eyes of all must have sickened weak stomachs. Several Negroes were sprawled in one room, some already dead, and one of these had to be removed so that Flaget could administer the Last Sacraments to another. David recounting the incident remarked:

The master attacked by the same malady with several others of his family. He had lost 7 negroes and 2 of his children. This place had become so infected that the doctor ordered that they take away the Mr. and his wife, who was only frightened in a carriage. His son was dead, his little daughter dying . . . our

two Sisters with the dead children proceeded to a house which was their destination. They arrived there but found still no accommodation, no bed, not a table, etc. The owner of this house, the lawyer Benjamin Hardin, our senator in Congress, without fear of cholera offered them his own house, where all his family resided, and has since taken care of Mr. Roberts and his wife. My two Sisters recovered from fatigue and sickness, and made replacements for the two others at Mr. Hardin. One of these two first ones had been at the doors of death . . . one of them who replaced the others took the sickness and is since dead — Sister Patricia Bamber.¹⁰

Soon the dreaded scourge was in the town and almost a dozen deaths occurred. The Sisters were sent all around the village, and before the end of the plague two more, Sisters Joanna Lewis and Generose Buckman, joined their companion in death. The Sisters of Loretto lost one martyr, Sister Benedicta. Several of the house of the Honorable John Rowan fell. A Negro died at Nazareth, a Negress at the College of St. Joseph's. Then it was among the professors. At Springfield, some twenty miles from Bardstown, almost forty out of the seven hundred inhabitants succumbed. The entire countryside was host to the grim visitor. Bishop Flaget hurried over to St. Rose to help the four young priests there, who were busy day and night administering the sacraments. One of them was so weak that he had to be lifted upon his horse, and held there as he rode along. Flaget stayed at the church, hearing confessions while the priests were out. The churches were crowded as the people rushed in to prepare for death.¹¹

Although Bardstown lost a few inhabitants, the surrounding countryside was hardest hit. At St. Mary's two of the priests paid with their lives for their zeal. Father Maguire, a Jesuit, was one and the other was Father William Byrne who had not yet left the college. Byrne had given up the idea of going to Paducah as he had recently visited Nashville where he thought there was more need of an educational institution. Flaget had given permission for him to establish a school in that city and he was waiting for a proper time to leave the college. It never came as he received a more urgent summons. For some time he had been subject to a type of cramps similar to those that attacked the

victims of cholera, which would lay him out for hours at a time. He had remarked that he would never survive an attack of cholera. On a day early in June he heard that a Negro woman needed a priest's attention and although he was not connected with her parish and no duty called, he nevertheless went to her bedside to prepare her for death. In a matter of hours he was ill, but he managed to stagger to the altar the next morning to say his Mass. Before the day was over, June 6, he too was gone.

Bishop Flaget had moved among the sick all over the country, now at St. Rose hearing confessions, now at some home nursing the sick, rubbing their hands and feet, consoling them, comforting the bereaved parents and children, seeming like a saint of old walking unharmed as others fell on all sides of him. Naturally his fearless activities had his friends in constant alarm, and they breathed a sigh of relief as the plague subsided and seemed almost gone. When all danger seemed past the giant fell, and for three days his life was despaired of by the physicians of Bardstown, but he then rapidly recovered.

That summer of 1833 was long remembered by all in that region. When the schools reopened in August and September, it was a chastened, smaller group who answered the rolls. All over the Middle West the same effects were seen. In 1832 Cincinnati had lost at least 350 in three weeks and the following year the death toll was even higher. In the epidemic of 1833 Salem, Indiana, was supposed to have lost one eighth of its population within a week; Indiana University closed down, and over sixty deaths took place in Indianapolis in one month. A joint resolution was introduced in Congress by Clay for a national day of prayer, and Governor Noah Noble proclaimed one in Indiana. The state of Michigan threw up road blocks against travelers. Panic, hysteria, and cold fear were generated because of its sudden appearance. A man was perfectly well one minute and the next he felt peculiar, then began to have an intense fever and a craving for cold drinks, vomiting, internal spasms, and finally debility, slow circulation, numb feeling with cold skin, and then collapse. Bishop Fenwick had gone through all this before his death. Finally, the fact that there seemed no cure possible, that physicians were as puzzled

as anyone else regarding its probable cause, made terror more widespread.¹²

Despite the national calamity, a Provincial Council was called for October, 1833. It should have met in 1832, but Archbishop Whitfield did not wish to call it as he feared the influence of Bishop England in such a meeting. However, England was in Rome then and was consulted by several important personages, including the Pope, upon American affairs. He succeeded in persuading His Holiness that councils were urgently needed for the American Church, so, after receiving a letter to that effect from the Pope, Whitfield very reluctantly called the Council. England reported to the Archbishop that the opposition of the clergy and people of Bardstown to Chabrat's nomination and Blanc's refusal to accept his bulls of appointment had made Rome desirous of finding some way of knowing the sentiment of the clergy and prelates before making nominations to American sees. Another important question was the determination of the boundaries of dioceses. England also noted that Flaget and Rosati had recommended Bruté for Vincennes, but he expected Rome would wait to hear the opinions of all the bishops of the Council. Meanwhile, Whitfield wrote Wiseman complaining of Bishop England; the Archbishop feared both England and Kenrick, as well as the newly elected Purcell, and especially did he fear any onrush of Irish clergy into this country. Although the Archbishop's fears and animosity toward England were not shared by Rome, Bishop England's experiences in this Council were not very happy. He avoided any break with the Archbishop, but could not help feeling hurt and saddened by Whitfield's actions and attitude. It was evident, for instance, that the Archbishop's desire to secure the young Dr. Eccleston as his coadjutor was prompted partly by the fear that England might be his successor, although England quickly seconded the nomination to show his own denial of the honor.

Flaget did not attend this Council, for he wanted David to have a chance to visit with his old friends "after twenty-two years' absence."¹³ David, on the other hand, would have preferred that Flaget go, as the latter knew better the limits of the pro-

posed new dioceses which David thought to be the principle issue of the Council. In speaking of the coming Council and his trip there David mentioned, "I believe that Mgr. England has taken too much upon himself." As this is the only remark in that direction, one does not know to what this referred, that is, whether he thought England should not have forced through the Council, or whether he was concerned about one of its items of the agenda. At any rate, it would seem that England believed David to be in the Archbishop's party of opposition to himself, for the Bishop of Charleston states he was always in a minority with Kenrick, Résé, Portier, and sometimes Dubois.¹⁴ Rosati and Portier were to go through Bardstown and pick up David on their way. David had hoped to see at the Council the consecration of both the newly elected Bishops "according to the ancient custom." However, both took place before the Council began.

The Second Provincial Council of Baltimore opened on October 20, 1833, with Whitfield, David, England, Rosati, Fenwick of Boston, Dubois, Portier, Kenrick, Résé, and Purcell present. The Archbishop celebrated the opening Mass and England preached. At the first session a clash occurred between the two on the matter of selecting the promoters, England maintaining that they should be elected by the bishops and Whitfield insisting on appointing them. The antagonism between the two Bishops was the most dramatic part of this Council, and John England would never be able to forget it. He felt that his usefulness in America was at an end, and seriously entertained the idea of resigning his see. The great authority on American Church history, Monsignor Guilday, sums up the affair partly as follows: "The prelates of the Second Provincial Council realized that he had been unfairly dealt with by the archbishop and by his advisers. That Dr. England had deeply offended the latter must be admitted. . . . In one sense, he received only what he might have expected in the Council; for he attacked well-intrenched interests in the cradle of the American hierarchy."¹⁵ Kenrick wrote the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda about it and urged that if England submitted a resignation it not be accepted. From St. Louis a letter was sent to the same Cardinal over the signatures of Flaget, Rosati, Purcell,

and the newly consecrated Bruté with the same plea. Flaget had not been at the Council so had not witnessed the clash of personalities. They wrote a glowing letter of praise and admiration of England, stating that with the unceasing attacks upon religion at that time, it would be a national calamity to lose the illustrious prelate of Charleston.

Eleven decrees were issued by the Council, among which was one concerning diocesan boundaries and another on the mode of nomination of bishops. Bruté was recommended for the new see of Vincennes, a nomination which England opposed, although he entertained the kindest feeling and a high regard for the professor of Mt. St. Mary's. The decrees were approved by Rome a year later and an elaborate method of nominating bishops set up. England again wrote the *Pastoral Letter* of the Council and it reflected the concern over the attacks by fanatics against the Church. The great Bishop-writer urged the American Catholics to show always an affectionate attachment to their country, "so that we may, in common with our fellow-citizens, sustain that edifice of rational liberty in which we find such excellent protection."¹⁶ Whitfield died a year later, October 19, 1834; a month before Eccleston was consecrated coadjutor archbishop.

Of all this sorry affair there is no mention in the letters of Bishop David. For David probably the real high points of the Council occurred not in the meetings but rather outside them when he met his old friends once again, for as Flaget gleefully remarked, "Everywhere he was welcomed like a patriarch of old coming from the other world and they treated him and feted him so well that he completely forgot his 73 years and today scarcely does he look 60 . . . wherever he went he saw so much that was new and marvelous that he falls, so to speak, into ecstasy when he tells about them."¹⁷ As a matter of fact, the first question the meeting took up was whether David had a right to be present and to vote, but it was finally decided that in the absence of Flaget his coadjutor had the same rights as the Ordinary.

Flaget had been unhappy over the treatment of England and was far from satisfied with the manner of choosing the bishops,

when their nomination was not made at a Council. He felt that a diocese might be left over a year and perhaps two years without a bishop under the procedure proposed. He had a plan to avoid this inconvenience. He was persuaded that elections made by all the bishops in assembly were most in conformity with the spirit of the Church. Therefore, he would have each Ordinary choose for himself a coadjutor and the Council would then discuss and debate over these nominations with the same zeal it used in the selection of the Bishop himself. A majority should be necessary for the choice of a coadjutor as for that of a bishop. Flaget hoped that an election made by the entire assembly of bishops in this way would forestall criticism by the clergy and people and that the prelate so chosen would receive a more favorable reception than if the bishop himself had selected him. He wished that the prelate might then have the liberty to consecrate him immediately. It is doubtful that Rome would have considered seriously the last part of the proposal made by Flaget. Of course, what he had in mind was the disturbance over the selection of Chabrat. Flaget felt that in the substitution of David for himself at the Council nothing had been lost for the Church and David had been able to gain by it. As it happened, the First Council of 1829 was also to be the last but one Flaget would attend; David attending that of 1833; Chabrat those of 1837, 1843, and 1846; while Martin John Spalding, last coadjutor to Flaget, attended the Council of 1849, held just a year before Flaget's death. This was to be the last of the Provincial Councils of Baltimore that were in reality councils for the Church of the United States. Flaget attended the Council of 1840.

David had visited with Bruté at Emmitsburg, as well as with the Sisters of St. Joseph's, whose superior was Mother Rose, to whom constant references are found in the letters of David. He had left Bardstown September 17 and had gone through Cincinnati, Wheeling, and Frederick to Mt. St. Mary's and St. Joseph's. From these places he went to Baltimore from Frederick by railroad. He lodged at the Sulpician seminary and there made the acquaintance of the bishop-elect, Purcell. He was present at the consecration of the latter by the Archbishop. The ceremonial proceedings

of the Council made a vivid impression upon his mind. These included a pontifical requiem Mass for the two members deceased since the last council, Fenwick and De Neckère, as well as a "solemn procession around the Church with the ten bishops in copes and mitres, two hundred priests in chasubles and a large number in surplices."¹⁸ David celebrated a pontifical Mass at St. Sulpice, visited at Georgetown College and was greatly impressed by its progress since his last visit, spent some time at the Visitation Convent, and then left for Frederick. There he was joined by Bishop Purcell and his party. On November 14 they arrived by steamer at Cincinnati, where they found Bishop Flaget awaiting them. Flaget, assisted by David, then installed the second bishop of Cincinnati in his cathedral with a "short but impressive address." They spent a day with the young prelate and Flaget reported that as far as he could judge it would not be long before Purcell would enjoy in his diocese the same confidence that the people had in his venerable predecessor. They left the next day and were soon back in Bardstown, after which David had to attend several receptions held in his honor and to relate many times over his experiences in the East. By this time Flaget had recovered from the effects of the cholera.

The following few months were comparatively serene at Bardstown. Flaget gradually overcame his concern over his stewardship, David noting that "the ordeals of this good prelate always continue, but I find him much calmer and more resigned," after he had reaccepted the bishopric. There were always the little troublesome details. Father Picot came back from Vincennes this year and continued to give concern to the Bishop. He had lacked the strength of Champonier in handling the difficult parish of Vincennes. The people there were still too poor and unconcerned about the Church, and the inexperienced, easygoing priest was overready to take their promises for fact. He soon got himself in debt to such an extent that he could not pay, and was thrown in jail for failure to meet one of these debts for food. He was never paid for his two years' service in Vincennes. At the priests' retreat of 1832 conducted by the Jesuit, Father Kenney, the decrees of the Council of 1829 had been promulgated, and a synod

was set for 1833. To this Picot came in order to attempt to collect enough to pay his debts. However, the synod was not held because of the cholera so Picot was out of luck. He returned to Vincennes and jail, and after this was immediately brought back to Bardstown by Flaget. There he was involved in one difficulty after another until Flaget finally had to suspend him from his priestly functions. Flaget then sent Father Petit of St. Mary's College out to Vincennes until the new Bishop could take over.

Meanwhile, Flaget's students from the Propaganda returned to aid him, although David thought these "Romans" a little beneath their reputations. David was considerably apprehensive over the rumor that Flaget might soon go to Rome. He feared that he might again, while there, attempt to resign and reside with his own family, and felt that would be a terrible misfortune for the diocese. Although the coadjutor was beginning to get along better with the clergy, who seemed to have had a change of heart toward him, nevertheless, David was afraid that if Flaget left him alone the murmurs would start all over again. He therefore stated it would not be with his approbation that Flaget would leave, although he pledged his hearer to silence about it.

The usual difficulties over St. Joseph's College were still occurring and Flaget hoped to have the Jesuits take it over as well as St. Mary's. In May, 1834, David stated that "Mgr. is greatly embarrassed regarding his college; the present trustees are plaguing him greatly." Actually, the two Bishops probably made more over this "lack of discipline" than was necessary. Both forgot that they were dealing not with seminarians but with college boys, who generally were from the deeper South and unused to any discipline. Elder probably had a better grasp of the situation than the Bishops. When the Jesuits finally took over in 1848 they met the same trouble, although they were more adept than Elder in meeting it. They were firmly established at St. Mary's, and as the debts of St. Joseph's were almost paid off, the Bishop hoped it would not be long before they could take the second place. But when they did take it over, the venture ended in complete failure through a variety of circumstances.

Concerns of administration were always at hand. The Bishop

was offered \$1,300 for 306 acres of the Coomes' land, and thought this might be a good bargain as the neighbors of that land made no scruples to cut all the timber that suited them off it. If he took this he thought of buying property in Louisville with the money obtained.

The three Bardstown prelates were considerably annoyed by an item which appeared in the *United States Catholic Miscellany* implying that by some secret means the name of Chabrat might have been inserted into the acts of the Council of 1833 and so by fraudulent means his nomination secured. They felt that Bishop England was not responsible for the item but his indiscreet editors. Actually the Council had taken no action on the question of the coadjutorship of Bardstown; Rome acted on the word of Flaget in this question. David thought that Kenrick and "a young Mr. Cullen, highly esteemed at the Roman Court" were responsible for the publication of "news that was not at all official," and he wished they would be more careful about such disclosures. Reynolds had been appointed confessor and practically ecclesiastical superior at Nazareth, though many of the Sisters did not care for him. However, he was not well, so David had almost as much to do there in 1834 as at any other time.

When Pope Gregory XVI, on May 6, 1834, created the diocese of Vincennes, with Simon W. G. Bruté de Rémur as its first bishop, one of Flaget's long-standing worries came to an end. The event was, in a sense, a personal triumph, and another of those climatic episodes of his remarkable career. One of his first posts in the United States was to be the seat of a bishopric, to be occupied by one of his closest friends, a man he had brought back to the United States with him almost twenty-five years before at the time he himself had been forced to accept the bishopric which included Vincennes. Furthermore, with the division of Illinois between the Bishops of St. Louis and Vincennes he now was responsible only for Kentucky and Tennessee. Chabrat had been consecrated, and was relieving him of much responsibility of administration, so an exceedingly happy Flaget looked forward to the consecration of the first Bishop of Vincennes.

On May 11, 1834, David penned the first of a series of letters

emanating from the three prelates of Bardstown which resulted in Bruté's acceptance of the episcopacy. Had it not been for these Bruté undoubtedly would not have taken on this burdensome honor. He drew up a list of reasons, several pages in length, why he should not accept. He had been for many years a retiring and obscure seminary professor with no experience or knowledge of administration, he spoke English badly, knew nothing of business affairs even were he able to speak to outsiders, no one in his right mind had ever asked or wanted him to preach, he had no manners, had lost all his teeth, and did not have a calm temper. There were many voices in the East raised against his acceptance. But the final decision he left with his friends of Bardstown; if they positively demanded it, he would accept the nomination. David told Bruté in his first letter that although the reasons for refusal seemed numerous, he must consider the reasons on both sides not by their number but by their weight; as he had not sought the office he should regard the voice of the Council and the Pontiff as the voice of Christ, and that he must turn with St. Paul to the One who would strengthen him. David warned that any delay would not be beneficial to the diocese, and argued that those of Bardstown who knew Vincennes better than anyone else would direct him to the apostolic labor. He then related to Bruté the latest facts concerning his new diocese, telling him that "poor Picot had not only done nothing there but the most recent priest, Petit, sent by Flaget, was performing miracles for the time he had been there. There is a fine church at Vincennes, not ornate, but worthy of fine art. There is a wooden church at White River, where a Mr. LaLumiere is which is only 25 miles away."¹⁹

A month later, in another characteristic letter, he wrote in the same vein but in greater detail. In some ten letters he urged Bruté not to delay, gave him facts about Vincennes, and told him what he could expect of them as regards his diocese. On June 15, 1834, he wrote in part:

For several years the Catholics of Indiana and Illinois have been crying for a shepherd to nourish them and provide for their needs. They have had to wait for one for a long time. The

great evil is in our delay. Oh, if you but knew, my dear brother, what harm could be repaired and foreseen, and what good could be done and be prepared for the future during all the time that will be taken in refusing and being asked, in being ordered to accept; you would fear the accounting that would have to be made, for it is my very pronounced feeling that from the moment that a Bishop has been canonically named and has received the bulls which establish him as shepherd of the flock, he is charged with answering for the souls committed to his care [?] That was what decided Mgr. Kenrick to accept without delay. For nine or ten years the flock assigned to you received the promise of a bishop. Unfortunately during this interval there were wolves instead of shepherds. The zealous Father Petit worked there during that interval and has undone a lot of damage. He has done a lot of good, but there remains much more to be done of what he had so happily begun. . . . So we believe, my beloved brother, that as soon as your bulls arrive you ought not to postpone journeying to these poor children pressed by hunger and who cry out for the sacraments [?] . . . You must have received the letter of Mgr. Flaget and you have had time to think about it before it arrived. He has marked out the line for you, follow it. Advice such as his is worth ten from your side of the Mountain. I assure you that the letter of Mgr. Dubois written recently to Mgr. Flaget shows rather clearly that he is unaware of the state of things, and that he was forewarned by very bad reasons against the nomination. It is Mgr. Reze probably [?] by Mgr. Kenrick who has taken that upon himself. He gave him to understand that they gave Mgr. Rosati the best and most faithful part of Illinois. But he doesn't know that this part was full of difficulties, hardships for the bishop of Vincennes, and that the other part which he calls uncultivated and sterile is nothing less than that, and that although newer, it is peopled everyday with [?] and offers to a bishop and zealous missionaries the finest field for the propagation of the faith and the establishment of the Catholic Church. Mgr. related it all to me day before yesterday. He has been all through it and knows the situation perfectly. They ask us for priests and they offer establishments everywhere, at Terre Haute, Ft. Wayne, and many other places which escape my memory. A Catholic named Rickmyers came the other day from there on behalf of a Catholic group who are offering to support a priest, to build a church; he assures us that the Protestants of the same place have offered contribution of \$200 on their part. They are now working on a canal called the Wabash and Erie Canal which

will rapidly increase the population, especially the Catholics, the workers being mostly Irish. . . . Really I would enjoy the very great consolation, if before dying I had the satisfaction of seeing you here in our beautiful cathedral added to the ranks of the Bishops of the West, Mgr. Rosati, Purcell, Chabrat with the two old friends and you and Mr. Chabrat consecrated by the venerable patriarch who brought you to the United States.²⁰

Flaget and Chabrat also wrote letters to warn Bruté against listening to those who would force Vincennes to wait again for a bishop. No one knew the Catholics of Vincennes better than Flaget, and Chabrat had been making sacerdotal trips across into Indiana for several years. Their letters to Bruté were filled with reproach that he would even think of allowing the evils, which the absence of a bishop encouraged, to continue. They kept pointing out to him that although he might be weak, he must no longer be a coward for God would sustain him. After all that Flaget had done to obtain a bishop for Vincennes, after all the long delay, and after his own nomination of Bruté, he did not intend that his friend should get out of it. He might have sent in another name later under the urging of others, but now that the Supreme Pontiff had spoken Bruté must give up his diffidence. Finally, Bruté told Flaget that if the three prelates of Bardstown said "yes" despite his various reasons for rejection he would accept, and at the same time he invited the Patriarch of the American hierarchy to consecrate him. On August 6 Flaget, in great delight, replied, "I accept. Yes, I accept wholeheartedly the honor you give me, with a pleasure that can be felt but not expressed in words, I shall lay my hands upon you and I have every reason to believe that through this sacred ministry the Holy Spirit will communicate to you in superabundant manner." Their next concern was over the date of consecration. Bishop Purcell wanted them to participate in the consecration of the new German church in Cincinnati and Rosati wanted them for the consecration of his new cathedral in St. Louis at about the same time. They urged him to try to secure one or two priests from the Archbishop; it would be a shameful thing, they thought, if he who had been training men for the priesthood for over twenty years could not be repaid by the services of one

or two from that archdiocese. However, none were forthcoming. They also warned him to write at once to the Superior of the Jesuits of Kentucky for the loan of Father Petit and advised him to forget about Picot. They gave him news of Badin's activities in Upper Indiana. Badin stated that the construction of "the long canal in the northern part of the state" had attracted Irish Catholics by the hundreds and that these were asking for priests.²¹

Lalumière seemed to be the only priest Bruté could count on with certainty, and David felt he would be a faithful one. Lalumière was attempting to find a home for the new Bishop. A short time after Bruté took over his diocese David was greatly consoled to hear that the first Bishop of Indiana found "my son, Simon Lalumière a faithful minister and consoling aid." Lalumière who had studied under David was to follow Bruté in the episcopal see of Indiana. Of this future bishop David said: "His knowledge is not eminent, but he has a good mind and if he is faithful in using all the time that he can save from his ministry (and one can spare a great deal of it when one avoids distractions) he will render himself very useful." That was the Rector of the seminary speaking. Then David referred to another failing of Lalumière that must have made Bruté either wince or smile, for David had been at Bruté for the same thing during all their years together in America. He admitted that he had plagued Lalumière a good deal and had sometimes even fatigued him on that point. But, said David, even so "persuade him to do all he can not to stammer or stutter his office and not to fill with fragments of words or versicules which he will not fail to present on Judgment Day, and especially not to suppress or pronounce negligently that beautiful half of the canticle of the Blessed [Virgin?] which we repeat so often on earth."²²

Another problem facing Bruté was the precarious state of the school at Vincennes, conducted by the Sisters from Nazareth. Reynolds, ecclesiastical superior of Nazareth, had determined to abandon this school. Flaget wrote Reynolds, then in Vincennes, not to suspend the operation of the school until he had talked to Bruté about the matter. However, before Flaget's orders reached him, Reynolds had sent the Sisters of Vincennes back to Bardstown. After his own return he said that Bruté could get some Sisters

from Nazareth if he so wished, but Reynolds seemed to have been "stalling." He told the Bishop that none could really be spared for the Vincennes project without doing material damage to the work in Kentucky, as one school in their state had already been closed for lack of teachers. David advised Bruté to get three or four of the Sisters of St. Joseph's, one at least of whom should speak French. David, in fact, felt that it would be preferable to bring the nuns of St. Joseph's from Maryland. Bruté was also informed that he ought to try to get as many religious goods for the church as possible, for about all it had was candlesticks.

The selection of the day for consecration caused much trouble. Bruté wanted, and the Bardstown men preferred, the feast of the Holy Rosary or some feast of the Blessed Virgin. Rosati wanted to defer it until the end of the month because of his plans. Bruté was to make his retreat at Bardstown, but it was hoped he would arrive well beforehand so that he could visit the various institutions and discuss all their pertinent problems. David especially wanted to talk to him about the union of the Sisters of Nazareth with the Sisters of St. Joseph, although he felt that the time had not yet come when such a project could be openly discussed. He had "always held dear to his heart the reunion of Nazareth with the Valley."²³ He felt that the "state of Nazareth" made the union desirous even though "the present superiors are greatly opposed . . . most of those Sisters are very well disposed. 5 or 6 *rulers* are keeping them in awe."²⁴

As Rosati wanted to have five or six bishops at his ceremony in order to make it a more imposing spectacle (which was felt might be very advantageous to religion, especially in the famous Mississippi Valley) the rest deferred to his wishes and fixed the consecration of Simon Bruté for October 28, the feast of SS. Simon and Jude. Bruté left Maryland September 15, picked up Purcell in Cincinnati, and arrived in Louisville on September 25. There they met Flaget at Abell's house. The three then settled the details for the coming event. Three days later, on Sunday, September 28, Purcell went home and the next day Flaget and Bruté went over to Bardstown. There was a delightful meeting of the three friends, Bruté, David, and Flaget, and how they embraced one another

and talked and planned! Bruté was shown the various institutions of the diocese about which he already was so well informed. Flaget soon afterward returned to Louisville, and then went down to Cincinnati to take part in the dedication there on Sunday, October 5, of the first German church west of the Allegheny Mountains. On that same day Bruté began his retreat under the direction of Bishop David, while Bishop Chabrat ordained four subdeacons, a deacon, and one priest.

Word came to Bruté there that Bishop Résé would be unable to attend his consecration, and that the one priest in Chicago, Father Ignatius St. Cyr, was being recalled by Bishop Rosati. As Chicago would be under Bruté's jurisdiction the news caused him much worry. Meanwhile, the services of Father Petit were promised for only a short time. Flaget gave him Lalumière, Badin, and Ferneding. In great admiration of the Bishop-elect, Flaget told the Bishop of St. Louis, "The somewhat singular figure of this excellent prelate, the perpetual motion of his fingers, of his hands, of his head, and of his entire body while he converses; the English with an entirely French pronunciation, coming from a large toothless mouth would seem to render him altogether useless for the post which he has been assigned, not to say laughable or ridiculous — But, *mon Dieu*, when he celebrates Holy Mass; when he speaks of Jesus Christ, of His love for men, my heart dilates and is inflamed like that of the disciples of Emmaus. I am beside myself."²⁵

Soon after the retreat and the return of Flaget to Bardstown, the two, with Petit, went over to Louisville. Because of the infirmities of the seventy-four-year-old David, as well as the expediency of having one of the prelates remain within the diocese, it was decided to leave that old friend behind. At Louisville, Bishop Purcell, Father Abell, and others joined them for the journey to St. Louis. The week of their arrival witnessed the last-minute preparations for the dedication of the beautiful new cathedral of St. Louis which took place on Sunday, October 26. The Bishops and priests vested in the old cathedral, and a long procession, witnessed by almost all of St. Louis, slowly marched to the magnificent new church. After the ceremony of dedication, a pontifical Mass by Rosati followed with Bishop Purcell preaching. At three

o'clock in the afternoon the ceremony came to an end. That evening Flaget pontificated at Vespers, and Father Abell gave the people of St. Louis a chance to hear his eloquence. Before their departure Flaget, Purcell, and Bruté celebrated a pontifical Mass in the new cathedral.

On October 28, 1834, Tuesday morning, the senior Bishop of the United States imposed his hands upon the head of Simon Bruté and called down the Holy Spirit to abide with this newest Bishop of the United States. Bishops Rosati and Purcell were coconsecrators. At the Mass Purcell spoke of the spread of the Catholic religion in America, taking as his text "Simon lovest thou me more than these?" It was another emotion-packed moment for Flaget.

On their way to his new see, Bruté's party stopped in St. Louis for a few days, celebrating there the feasts of All Saints and All Souls. On November 3, the three Bishops, Bruté, Purcell, and Flaget, together with several priests, among whom was the faithful, hard-working Abell, left by stage for Vincennes, a two-day trip. On the road, during the night, the stage broke down and the party had to feel their way in the darkness of the woods. It was Flaget, reminiscent of his journeys through this country for the past twenty-odd years, who sitting on a log, telling various anecdotes, cheered his depressed companions by his irresistible gaiety. Two days journey, and about noon on Wednesday, November 5, once again in old, familiar Vincennes. They were met by a representative group of citizens and the new Bishop was formally welcomed. While yet in the stage they were given the news of the death of Archbishop Whitfield and still in the stage the party said the *De Profundis* for the repose of his soul. That same evening Flaget installed Bruté upon the episcopal chair, addressing him on his duties toward his flock, and Bruté replied to this. Both spoke in French, but were followed by Purcell who spoke in English. During the rest of the week the same solemn services as had been held in St. Louis took place, Flaget and Purcell preaching several times. On Sunday the new Bishop pontificated for the first time in his own cathedral. On November 10 the fifty-five-year-old Bruté was left to bear alone "the certificate of the Cross." He was

to be bishop for only a short four years, but before he died, on June 26, 1839, he had justified his appointment. He burned himself out quickly in Indiana, but he created a diocese.

Flaget returned to Bardstown with a light heart, his cup of joy overflowing. It had been the most memorable of all his visits to Vincennes, the fulfillment of a long-cherished dream. For twenty years he and David had been urging their old friend to come out West to join them in their labors of love; now with Bruté in Vincennes another worry was at an end. The diocese of Bardstown and his jurisdiction, after some twenty-five years, was now limited to Tennessee and his dear Kentucky.

Twelve

A FEW months after the consecration of Bruté, in the early spring of 1835, Bishop Flaget quietly slipped out of Bardstown and, with no more than half a dozen persons realizing it, sailed for Europe. He was not to return for four years, too late to see again his beloved friend, for Bruté had run his short episcopal career and was gone to his reward months before the return of the Bishop. Flaget had not been to Rome since his consecration, his official religious reports having been presented there by others. A quarter of a century after his elevation by the first Archbishop of the United States, Flaget arrived in France and Rome to find himself a celebrity. However, this was not to be a vacation; the seventy-two-year-old prelate began and spent his four years in Europe in the same vigorous way as he had done when he came into his own diocese. His remarkable career during this period is so well known because he obtained a French priest to serve as his secretary and companion, and this cleric later wrote what is known as "The French Life of Flaget." In this are found many of the letters he wrote to his brother in France, various episodes related by the Bishop, an eyewitness account of a year and a half of his life there, and chapters on the various characteristics of the famed American missionary — such as his humility, his firmness, his mortification, his patience, etc. These sketches were entitled: *Monseigneur Flaget: Etude sur son Esprit et ses Vertus*.

Ten years before this he had planned an *ad limina* visit, only to see it halted by David's fears. In 1825, writing to the Supreme Pontiff to obtain his consent for the trip, he gave in detail the reasons for and against his project. He felt that a visit to France

and Italy would be more useful to his own diocese than all he could do in ten years within it. But David's letter of remonstrance to the Holy See was effective so Flaget was advised to put off the project that year. When he learned the reason for the decision he remarked to the Coadjutor, "Make yourself easy; when I shall again propose to visit Rome, I will say nothing of my intention either to yourself or to any one else."¹ Now, after ten years' delay, with David retired and Chabrat having no lack of confidence in his own capacity he could make the trip without misgiving. He landed in France and remained there almost a year before going to Italy. He first went to Nantes, where he had practically begun his career, and visited its Ordinary and many of his parishes where he was received with admiring ardor. Angers was his next stop; its Bishop presented him with a soutane and gave him other evidences of his high respect. His sojourn here was unexpectedly prolonged as he became seriously ill and was under the care of physicians for some five months. He then went on to several other towns and finally came to that place of fond memories, Billom, where he spent some time with the remaining members of his family. Everywhere the "holy American missionary" was received by nobles, bishops, clergy, and people with the utmost veneration, affection, and delight. He represented to them all the noble American of the forests; a saintly Benjamin Franklin with American virtues imposed upon French charm and manners.

On September 24, 1836, over a year after he had left the United States, Flaget reached the Eternal City. His reception there was such as he could never have dreamed possible. Five days after his arrival he found himself in the presence of His Holiness, Gregory XVI. The Pope, who was only two years younger than the Bishop, had been a Camaldolese monk (which order is a branch of the Benedictine), Father Maurus Cappellari. As abbot of the monastery of St. Gregory in Rome, he had attracted the attention of the reigning Pope by his learning and ability. Leo XII created Father Cappellari a cardinal on March 13, 1826, with a eulogy such as is seldom heard in the consistory, saying he was "remarkable for innocence and gravity of manners and most learned."² On February 2, 1831, he was elected to the pontificate

after a stirring conclave in which Spain was an interested party. As he had been an abbot and did not have the episcopal character, he was consecrated a bishop preceding his coronation as pope. Thus, Flaget was actually his senior in the episcopacy by over twenty years. His reign, starting in revolutions, was marked by progressive legislation and action; in a month he preconized twenty-two archbishops and bishops and before the end of the year had named twelve cardinals. He added vastly to the art collection of Rome, founding several new museums and restoring wherever necessary. Physically the Pope was Flaget's equal in vigor and strength; his features were large and rounded, and he lacked the delicacy, the haunting nobility and fineness of Pius VII's face. Like Flaget he could tire out younger men within a short period; he often took a personal part in the work of the congregations, sometimes overruling a motion with rare judgment and knowledge, and was even known to write long personal letters to bishops of distant sees. He became famous later for his rebuke to Nicholas I of Russia for the latter's treatment of the Catholics of his country when that monarch came to call upon the Pope at the Vatican. Gregory's kindness and generosity were a byword during his long reign from 1831 to 1846. Such, briefly, was the man before whom Flaget appeared at eleven o'clock that autumn morning of 1836.

The Bishop of Bardstown made the usual three prostrations and kissed the cross upon the sandal of the Fisherman. The ceremonial required that he remain kneeling, but the Bishop of Rome bent down and pulled up the Bishop of Bardstown by his arms, embraced him tenderly, and kissed him upon both cheeks. These marks of affection so overcame Flaget with emotion that he could not speak and almost fainted. The Pope again embraced him, led him to a chair at his side, and calmed him. After Flaget's agitation had ceased, they talked together in Latin as His Holiness did not speak French nor Flaget Italian. The Bishop started to tell Gregory of his adventures across Europe, but was interrupted by the statement of the Pope that he had followed Flaget's footsteps from Le Havre until his arrival in Rome.³ Flaget had several other such cordial interviews with the Pope, during which they talked of the conditions of his diocese of Bardstown "to the most minute

details" and of religion in America generally. Flaget was made an assistant prelate at the throne and given a splendid episcopal costume of the finest make. Gregory also offered to pay his expenses during his stay in Rome and saw to it that the Bishop had comfortable lodging. When he prepared to leave Rome the Pope objected that the winter was almost at hand, and that the Bishop ought not to travel in such weather; thus, although Flaget would have gone on about his various projects, the Pope's wishes were obeyed and he remained in Rome for the season, living with the Lazarists at Monte Citorio. There he drew up a report of his diocese. He presented to the Pontiff a petition from the Sisters of the Good Shepherd of Angers, requesting the privileges of establishing a branch house in Rome, as well as a petition for a beatification. In one of his interviews the foresighted Bishop requested the removal of his see to Louisville, as he saw that this city, because of its position on the river, was growing more rapidly than Bardstown and felt that it was destined to be the most important of Kentucky. The Pope referred the request to the Congregation of the Propaganda.

Flaget remained in Rome until after the Easter season of 1837. From Rome he went to Vienna, probably to try to get funds for his diocese from the famous association which was to do so much for the American Church, i.e., the Leopoldine Association of Vienna. He had an audience with the Emperor and dinner with Metternich. He also visited with the exiled former king of France, Charles X, and at the request of the family blessed the heir of that monarch. The news of this act got back to France, and Louis Philippe, who had been very kind to him on his arrival the previous year, was the reverse upon Flaget's return. Flaget also visited in Viterbo, Assisi, Loreto, Ancona, Bologna, and Venice. At the sanctuary of Loreto he remained three days and made a retreat under the direction of a Jesuit.⁴ At all these places he was received by representatives either of the papacy or the civil government with great ceremony and splendor. After his business was completed in Austria he returned to France, there to begin the arduous two years' work requested of him by various French prelates through the medium of the Pope. They wanted him to visit as many

French dioceses as possible to urge the French to aid the Association for the Propagation of the Faith.

In the two years he devoted to this task Flaget toured forty-six dioceses of France and Sardinia, speaking not only in the episcopal cities but also in various parishes, seminaries, colleges, and other religious institutional houses. When he began this tiring role of traveling he was seventy-five years of age, but his accustomed energy never failed him. Crowds were always on hand to see and listen to the "old missionary bishop." His very presence seems to have aroused their fervor and piety, for although his burning eloquence caused thousands to join the Association "no one could look on him without feeling more deeply impressed than with any sermon." He exchanged pictures and other tokens of remembrance with people. Everywhere he was looked upon as a saint, and the veneration for him increased upon meeting. Bishops, archbishops, and cardinals fell upon their knees for his blessing.

Soon it began to be rumored that the prayers of this saintly bishop from America had powerful efficacy; there was a whisper of the words "miraculous cures," "miracles." One of those who heard of these occurrences was the De Monti family of Nantes; nineteen-year-old Olympia De Monti had been struck in June, 1834, with a fever which had almost taken her life, and had left her physically exhausted and unable to walk for over a year. She was steadily growing weaker, could no longer sit up, and some of the most renowned physicians of the country despaired of her recovery at the time Flaget arrived in Nantes. As the Bishop was greatly embarrassed by the reports of his abilities it was difficult to approach him on such an affair. However, through the intervention of a friend, their ardent desire to receive his blessing was transmitted to him apparently without his realizing what was behind the wish. He called on them one morning early in December, 1835, and after receiving his benediction they casually remarked that their daughter would be deprived of this happiness unless he would have the charity to visit her room as she had been unable to leave it for some months. He went upstairs to bless her, and promised to pray for her. Within a few minutes after his departure she was walking and appeared completely cured from that time.

Other such reported events made the reception of the Bishop an exciting event for many a diocese and parish as he moved across France and Sardinia.

Bruté had also gone to Europe in the autumn of 1835 to obtain aid for his new diocese, and in Rome had met the usual generous response from the Pope and cardinals as had all the other first bishops of American sees. Although he had remained but a few months he found the occasion to look up Felicité de Lamennais in order to plead with him to reconcile himself to the Holy See. Gregory XVI, by the encyclical *Singulari Nos* dated June 25, 1834, had condemned some of the teachings of the famous priest, and the proud spirit of the French writer refused to bend to the yoke. Bruté argued with him in vain.

Just a month before the encyclical appeared, the seventy-three-year-old David was admitting that he could not help "liking and esteeming this good priest." Although he had not seen the writings containing the errors for which De Lamennais was being reproached, he could not help believing that he was simply like all geniuses who were usually so fond of their own systems that they pushed them to excesses. David maintained that Fenelon himself was an example of that, but De Lamennais, who had imitated him in his excesses, would also imitate him in submission to the authority that no one had better defended than himself. Although some might have fears concerning him, evidently the Vicar of Christ did not, since he had asked him to continue writing; that presupposed that the Pope had complete confidence in his sincerity and his capacity to defend the faith. David concluded: "Between us I believe that his adversaries are not free from prejudice and perhaps passion. The refinements of self-esteem are so subtle and so easily covered with the honorable veil of zeal. It so often happens that people dispute without understanding one another. I admit that I encouraged Mgr. Flaget to write him a letter of congratulation and to add my name to it. And why not? Didn't the Pope himself do it? Would it not be even proof that we didn't approve what he was obliged to retract. It is a kind of warning to be more on one's guard in the future. I fear also that Father Rosavin is letting himself be carried away too much by his zeal, and that

a friendly explanation with De Lamennais might make them both see that they have not understood one another.”⁵ Two months later David’s eyes were opened to De Lamennais’ pride, which he found “very frightening.” He hoped even then that the “type of *de facto* excommunication which separates him from the whole Catholic clergy will open his eyes to the abyss into which he is casting himself and into which he may lead many others after him.”⁶ Flaget must have been saddened as he traveled through France not to be able to find the ardent defender of the faith he must have long hoped to meet, but the drama had been played out by the time he arrived in his native country. Of course, De Lamennais was really the friend of Bruté. Neither David nor Flaget had a personal friendship with him; it had been developed through his writings and his friendship with their friend.

During the four years Flaget was in Europe, Chabrat, his coadjutor, administered the diocese without too much disturbance. David was practically retired by this time, and spent most of his leisure in reading, writing, and translating the works of Liguori, Bellarmine, and other ecclesiastical writers. He was greatly aided by Father Reynolds who was to be soon appointed vicar-general. David thought that Reynolds was the best priest they had made in Kentucky. He was pleased that this young man, whom he had educated since the age of twelve, should come to the rescue of his old father. “He seems to become from day to day, more zealous, more retiring, and more obliging.”

Another young Kentuckian, a native of the parish of St. Joseph’s of Bardstown, was also of great consolation to the aged prelate. John McGill’s family had come out to Bardstown from Philadelphia about 1818. John entered the preparatory department of St. Joseph’s College when it was established. After graduating from the college in 1828 he studied law with Charles A. Wickliffe and was in due time admitted to the practice of law before the courts. Some of his Creole friends persuaded him to move to Louisiana to follow this career, but after less than a year in New Orleans he returned to Bardstown. He associated himself with one of the town’s leading lawyers, Thomas Chilton, and in a short time was regarded as well on the way to success. However, to the amazement of his

friends, he soon deserted this promising career and entered the seminary under the direction of David. He studied there for two years and then was sent to St. Mary's in Baltimore. He wanted to study there because the proximity of his own family interrupted his studies too much.⁷ His theological courses completed, he returned home to be ordained by David on June 13, 1835, in his own Cathedral parish. Hazeltine, who had been serving the college so long, was probably ordained at the same time as he. McGill was sent first to Lexington and next to St. Louis Church in Louisville, then under Reynolds. His study and knowledge of the law is evidenced in his preaching and writings. His controversial ability was perhaps best recognized by the Protestant divines of Louisville who were lending themselves to the Nativist movement then in its zenith. McGill followed closely in the steps of Reynolds; the latter preceding him by a few years in the various positions of pastor of St. Louis, vicar-general, and finally bishop. Both men were to occupy Southern sees, Charleston and Richmond. These natives of Kentucky, McGill and Reynolds, together with Martin J. Spalding, soon established reputations as great as Abell's for a vigorous eloquence, although all three were more learned and better educated than the latter.

Soon after Spalding's return from Rome in 1834 he was made pastor of the Cathedral and professor of philosophy in the seminary as well as member of the board of trustees of the college. The faculty of the college in that year began the publication of the first Catholic periodical of Kentucky, a monthly literary magazine, the *St. Joseph College Minerva*, with Spalding one of its leading contributors. At the end of one year's existence the *Minerva* ceased, to be succeeded by a weekly newspaper, *The Catholic Advocate*. The leading spirit in this was a Catholic layman, the Honorable Benjamin J. Webb, the brother-in-law of John McGill. For some five years, Webb, job foreman on the *Louisville Journal*, had thought about and planned such a paper, and late in 1834 he approached Father Reynolds, who in turn talked to the faculty of the college to whom it was proposed to give editorial control. Fathers Martin J. Spalding, George A. Elder, C. H. de Luyne, and William Clarke were given the task

of editing the proposed paper, the first number of which appeared in February, 1835. When it made its appearance there were but five Catholic journals in the country, of which England's paper was still the foremost. The *Advocate* was to last fifteen years before it was merged with one of Cincinnati. Webb, with great sacrifice, often suffered financial losses through lack of Catholic support. The editors made it one of the most respectable Catholic journals of its time, yet out of 20,000 Catholics in Kentucky, the paper was fortunate when it had 750 subscribers. At a later period, when the paper was moved to Louisville, McGill became the chief editor. To the ranks of these men was soon added Benedict Spalding, brother of Martin, who had also been studying in the College of the Propaganda.

Meanwhile, during these years the colleges were having their trials. After Father Byrne's death in 1833 the Jesuits had complete control of St. Mary's College. However, just as the new college year began in the fall of 1833, the main college building burned to the ground and the students had to return to their homes. Their enforced vacation lasted scarcely more than a month, though, as the work to replace the building was rushed, and not long afterward it was found necessary to add another wing to it. Father Chazelle revealed his versatility by writing two dramas for presentation by the college students during the next session. His "Red Hawk" and "The Treason of Arnold" were enthusiastically received by the countryfolk. The year 1836 saw the addition of a man who could speak English without a French accent; Father William S. Murphy was given the field of English and English literature, and the French Jesuits were greatly relieved. In 1837 John Finn, a state legislator whose son was a student in the college, introduced a bill at Frankfort to give the college a charter of incorporation and empower it to grant degrees. Father Abell and Father Murphy accompanied Finn to the capital to see the bill through; Father Abell was then invited to preach in the Kentucky House of Representatives. The next year the Jesuits opened a novitiate upon the adjoining farm. Their first Kentucky novice was a student of the college, Michael Driscoll. Among others who joined the Jesuits at St. Mary's were Father Augustus

Thebaud and Father Peter Lebreton from France, and Father John Larkin, a Sulpician, from Montreal. Several of the Bardstown priests also joined their ranks, among them Fathers H. C. de Luynes and Harrissart. The Jesuits kept the college until 1846; among their alumni were a governor of Kentucky, J. P. Knott, Judge John E. Newman, and Pierce Grace, who was a writer and brother of Bishop Grace.

St. Joseph's College also went through the horrors of a fire. In January, 1838, while Flaget was in Europe, the entire college burned to the ground. The frantic Father Elder rushed in and out of buildings and so exerted himself that eight months later, weakened and exhausted, he became ill and died. This beloved priest's last hours were of great inspiration to his many friends as he recited his favorite psalms; none among the clergy could have better met their Maker. His funeral gave evidence that the president of St. Joseph's had been among the most beloved figures of Bardstown. The destruction of the college building had a baneful effect upon the fortunes of St. Joseph's, for although it rose soon again from its ashes, it was weighed down heavily with debt and was always a source of worry and trouble to the Bishop. Until the Jesuits took it over in an ill-fated attempt to restore it to its former standing, its presidents succeeding Elder were Martin J. Spalding, James M. Lancaster, and Edward McMahon.⁸

While Flaget was still in Europe, the Third Provincial Council of Baltimore was held, its first session being on April 16, 1837. Its significance to Bardstown lay in its recommendation for the creation of a new diocese of Tennessee. Perhaps its chief interest to us today is its *Pastoral Letter* which is the most forceful and courageous of these documents issued by the seven Councils during the twenty years they were held. It castigates those Protestant leaders who had lent themselves to the forgeries of the books on the convents, and points out that the indecent, obscene literature reflected no credit upon its various authors and would only help to lower public morality. It spoke frankly and assessed the blame for the disgrace of Massachusetts in the burning of the Charleston convent. It pointed out graphically a fact that even today Protestants fail to grasp properly—that

anti-Catholicism really means anti-Christianity. The *Letter* also spoke of the dissemination of Catholic books, the Catholic press, education, the work and duties of the priesthood, as well as various other topics.

Chabrat attended the Council for Bardstown, with Reynolds as his consulting theologian. The new Archbishop, Samuel Eccleston, had been born in Maryland of English parents. He was another Sulpician, and when consecrated, at the age of thirty-three, he was president of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore. Archbishop Eccleston's suffragans attending were: England, Rosati, Benedict Fenwick, Kenrick, Purcell, Bruté and Blanc. England's coadjutor, Bishop Clancy, was also present, while Dubois was represented by Father Felix Varela. Portier was unable to attend. At one of the sessions, Bishop Résé presented his resignation. On July 28, 1837, the new dioceses recommended by the Council were created: Natchez, consisting of Mississippi, Nashville of Tennessee, and Dubuque of the territory of Wisconsin. In January, 1838, John Hughes was consecrated coadjutor to Dubois. Kenrick had opposed the nomination of Richard P. Miles until he was assured by Bishop Chabrat at the Council of the great piety of the Dominican.

In July, 1838, Chabrat ordained two priests for the diocese, John B. Hutchins and William E. Powell. The latter was to live but two years while the former is remembered as one of the ablest of the diocesan priests. He was given the task of solving the financial difficulties of St. Joseph's College as well as of St. Thomas Seminary and St. Mary's College. He worked in the various missions and served as chaplain of the Loretto convent, wherein eleven of his nieces were professed Sisters. The most memorable event of that year of 1838 was the consecration of the first Bishop of Nashville, Richard P. Miles, by Bishop Rosati assisted by Bruté and Chabrat. David attended but had to leave the church in the middle of the ceremony because of illness. Father John Timon, C.M., future bishop of Buffalo and rector of Rosati's seminary in Missouri, had the sermon. This consecration meant that after almost thirty years the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Bardstown now included but the single state of Kentucky.

Flaget was still immersed in his mission for the Holy Father in Europe. At Turin he had been received by King Charles Albert and entertained by the Duke of Montmorency. Early in 1839, after traveling through most of France, Sardinia, and Piedmont he reached Nice. Here he remained with the Governor, Count Rudolph de Maistre, a son of the writer, during the entire season of Lent to recuperate from his years of laborious journeying. He then began to think of a return to his own country, although he was urged by many not only to continue his work in Europe, but also to give up any return to America. From his own diocese, however, he was receiving many letters "earnestly asking his speedy return." This proved a perplexing problem so he wrote to Gregory XVI for advice. Just before Easter of 1839 the Pontiff replied, praising his zealous accomplishment of the mission entrusted to him, and advising that he go back immediately to his diocese, for Rome had also received letters requesting the return of the Bishop. Hence, although several French prelates were clamoring for his presence in their dioceses, he decided it was time to go home. He did visit one more diocese which he had already agreed to visit, settled some business matters at Lyons, and spent some time with his brothers. He tried to obtain students for his diocese but, being disappointed in this, hastened arrangements for his return. Chabrat had sent over Father John McGill to accompany the Bishop back from France. At Lyons they met Bishop Purcell who was also about to return home, and the three with several others left in July, 1839, for the United States, arriving in New York late in August.

On October 7 the bells of the Cathedral and of the college in Bardstown began to ring out wildly and joyously; the Bishop was back home. At the entrance of the Cathedral the Bishops and the clergy met him, the people of the town came hurrying to witness the return of the patriarch. The next day he made a formal visit to St. Joseph's College where the faculty and students expressed to him their love and respect. The following day a banquet was given him at Nazareth, attended by David and other friends as well as by the Sisters and over a hundred of their girls. After these public expressions of joy and gratitude

for his return the Bishop quietly began his last real public visitation of the diocese.

Among the first to feel the effects of his return were the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth. Bishop Flaget had met Father Timon in 1835 when the latter was negotiating in behalf of the Archbishop of Baltimore for an affiliation of the American Sisters of Charity of Emmitsburg with those of St. Vincent de Paul in France. This had made him wonder if it would not be best to procure the same result for those of Kentucky. The Bishop made an extensive investigation of conditions at Nazareth and its various branches and questioned at length each nun as to her general happiness and welfare, the discipline, and the advisability of uniting with some other Sisterhood. After his inquiry was completed the Bishop advised a modification of their dress, the withdrawal of the ecclesiastical superior, and union with another order. These suggestions alarmed and troubled the Sisters, and under the leadership of Mother Catherine they successfully resisted the changes requested by the aged prelate. They pointed out that although it was true that members had left their community, the same thing often occurred in others where the vows were simple and yearly. David seems to have, in that day, lost his ardent desire to unite them with the Sisters of Emmitsburg for he remained outside the affair, observing that "Mother Catherine is having her trials, but she will come through."

Another interesting little episode touching Nazareth and Flaget took place over Sister Eulalia, the Bishop's niece. She adored "*mon oncle*" and when he asked her to go to France with him in order to study the methods of teaching the deaf and dumb she immediately responded. While he was touring Europe she was engaged in acquiring all the knowledge needed to set up such a school in Bardstown. She returned with the Bishop, but found no welcome at Nazareth. It seems that she had left without the formal approval of the Superior, so was expelled from the Nazareth convent. However, she began the school that had long been an ardent desire of the Bishop. Before the end of her life she had been a religious in three different Sisterhoods.⁹ Despite their love and veneration of the prelate, all the Sisters felt that

the changes contemplated at Nazareth and the project of Sister Eulalia were ill-advised; perhaps they saw in them the fine hand of the Coadjutor, Bishop Chabrat. Flaget finally gave them up.

His Holiness, Gregory XVI, had told Flaget when he returned to his flock "to speak to them face to face" and to give each of them his benediction and love. Flaget therefore decided to make an extensive visitation of the diocese which occupied him for the next two years until the fall of 1841. The four years of incessant travel in Europe had not seemed to take their toll; his two years of additional travel in Kentucky fatigued him even less than it did his youthful companions. It must have been a rare sight indeed to see this seventy-seven-year-old man swing into the saddle and finish a day of hard riding as erect as the young priests who accompanied him. By July of 1841 he had visited all but seven or eight of his parishes, and in each had preached, administered the Sacrament of Confirmation, and performed whatever task was necessary. The intervals between these visits he spent with David and Chabrat at their episcopal residence in Bardstown.

David had been growing feebler during these two years; he had waited anxiously for the return of his "beloved Seigneur" and now that he had seen him he declared many times he was ready to be dismissed by his Master. In April, 1841, he suffered a stroke of apoplexy, and it was apparent that his end was near. He was nursed day and night by the Sisters of Charity until he finally expressed a desire to die out at Nazareth. Ten husky Negroes bore him in a curtained litter out to his beloved retreat of Nazareth, and Bishop Flaget administered the last Sacraments soon after. On July 12 classes were dismissed, the nuns gathered around his bedside, he lifted his hand to bless them, and it fell gently to his side. It was 11:30 a.m. Bishop Flaget celebrated the requiem Mass and his final wish to rest at Nazareth was realized in death.¹⁰

While David was in his last agony, the time of the diocese of Bardstown was also running out. Flaget had received in the spring a papal rescript authorizing the translation of the episcopal see to Louisville. Although the move was repugnant to the nature

of the aged prelate, who had for so long been connected by the closest of ties to Bardstown, he felt that the good of the Church demanded the move; he hated to leave the solitude of his beloved country seat for the bustle and confusion of the city. But his vision was proven entirely correct; a new impulse to religion in the city emerged at the time and the growth of Louisville to its position of paramount importance in the state also proved the wisdom of the change. The Vicar-General, Father Reynolds, preceded him to the city to prepare the way and in the last month of 1841 the first Bishop of Louisville quietly, and without ceremony, took up his residence there. His beloved friend had preceded him to another city, the City of God, and he would mark time until he was given the same privilege; he had seen the birth and the death of the diocese of Bardstown and it was meet and just that another should take over the burden of Louisville. But it was yet almost a full decade before his episcopal authority was finally to end.

Epilogue

TWO years after his move, Flaget entered his eightieth year, and he felt that he had long overstayed his time. Although he was to be bishop of Louisville for nine years the actual administration of the diocese passed to the hands of his coadjutors. He had attended the Fourth Provincial Council of Baltimore, in May, 1840, and for the last time gathered with his brothers of the episcopacy. New faces had appeared as the old ones were gradually fading away. He saw there Archbishop Eccleston, Bishops England, Rosati, Benedict Fenwick, Michael Portier, Kenrick, Purcell, and Blanc as familiar faces, while the newcomers were Matthias Loras, bishop of Dubuque, Richard P. Miles, bishop of Nashville, and Celestine de la Hailandiere, bishop of Vincennes. Some of these men Flaget did not again meet. A new episcopal generation was soon to appear, just as a new generation of statesmen were taking over the destiny of the country. Flaget had begun his episcopal career as the post-Revolutionary War statesmen and political leaders put in their appearance upon the national scene. His old friend Clay, Calhoun, Webster, Jackson, Taylor, Benton, Crittenden, Cass, and John Quincy Adams entered public life during the crisis of the years leading to the War of 1812 and these men who had formed national policies during the period of the country's expansion and nationalism were now being replaced by the leaders like Seward, Lincoln, Sumner, Davis, Toombs, Chase, and Douglas who would help bring on the Civil War. When the seventh and last Provincial Council of Baltimore met in 1849 there was not a single prelate present who had attended the first Council, but the growth of the Church

could be noted in the presence of two archbishops and twenty-three bishops:

When his old friend, Bishop England, died, it was one of his own priests, his Vicar-General, Reynolds, who was named second bishop of Charleston. As the first bishop of Milwaukee, John Martin Henni, who had studied in the Bardstown seminary, had also just been appointed, the two were consecrated together in St. Peter's Cathedral, Cincinnati, by Bishop Purcell on the feast of St. Joseph, March 19, 1844. Reynolds had hoped to receive his consecration from the hands of Flaget, but the latter was too infirm by this time to undertake the long ceremony. Nevertheless, he was in the sanctuary for the ceremony and after Bishop Reynolds and Bishop Henni had imparted their first episcopal blessings to the kneeling crowds that filled the cathedral, the spectators saw the tottering form of the Bardstown prelate being helped up the steps to the altar. Amidst a heavy silence, in feeble accents scarcely heard, Flaget intoned the first words of the solemn episcopal blessing "*Sit Nomen Dómini benedíctum.*" Bishops, priests, and people all knelt in awed piety to receive his blessing.

Although Chabrat attended the next two Councils, those of 1843 and 1846, he was at the same time pleading with the American bishops to agree to his resignation. Since at least 1843 his eyesight had been failing badly, and the treatment of the most eminent oculists of the United States and Paris failed to offer any hope of eventual recovery. Rome referred his request for relief from his duties to the Provincial Council of 1846 but the bishops finally declined to receive his resignation, although the Bishops of Cincinnati and Nashville offered their episcopal services whenever needed. After the Council his condition became so much worse that he decided to return to Paris for treatment. The physicians there protested to the Holy See so strongly against his continuation in office that his resignation was at last accepted in 1847. Chabrat thereupon retired to France to spend his remaining life, and Flaget, at eighty-four, was again deprived of a coadjutor. For well over a year this situation continued and the poor old man, with "almost continual vertigo in the head" was often heard groaning "*Ma nullité*" although this was as often

followed with the sigh, "*Que sa sainte volonté soit faité.*" He had outworked two coadjutors, but during these three years of Chabrat's almost constant absence, it was a severe trial to be left alone in his old age to manage a diocese. In May, 1848, he was still advising Kenrick and others on the choice of a coadjutor. Among the *terna* sent to Rome his first choice was Father John McElroy, S.J., of Frederick, Maryland. The Holy See selected another from the list, preferring a native son of Kentucky. Despite his eighty-five years and extreme feebleness, on September 10, 1848, the feast of Holy Name of Mary, he consecrated his third coadjutor, Martin J. Spalding, who was to be Kenrick's successor as Archbishop of Baltimore. Kenrick and Miles were the co-consecrators, while the sermon was preached by the newly created (1847) Archbishop of St. Louis, Peter Richard Kenrick, brother of Francis Patrick of Philadelphia. Poor Bishop Reynolds came dashing up just an hour after the ceremony was over. He had come all the way from Charleston to take part in the elevation of one with whom he had lived and worked for so long, but the low waters of the Ohio River had delayed the boat. So, with this last ceremony Flaget had consecrated seven of the bishops of the United States, three of whom were destined for the archiepiscopal see of Baltimore. This was his last public appearance.

His declining years were consoled by a number of important events for the diocese of Louisville. There were now fifty-seven priests working among the 35,000 Catholics of Kentucky; with fifty-six churches and chapels and six religious communities. While detained at Angers by his long illness during his tour of France, Flaget had become acquainted with the work of the institute of the Good Shepherd and had expressed a desire to have it established in his own diocese, and his request was granted. When the word of this foreign mission spread through the different communities of the order there were so many volunteers the Mother General found it difficult to make a choice. Finally, it was decided that it would be composed of representatives of different nationalities in order to stress its Catholicity. But after Flaget's return to Bardstown he had been advised by

his Coadjutor that the resources of the diocese would not permit the entry of the Sisters, since diocesan funds were then engaged for the building of a new cathedral in Louisville. However, the Sisters in France decided that the ardent wish of the Bishop, rather than prudence, should determine their action, and they would then depend upon Providence for the necessary funds. On September 4, 1843, they entered an establishment prepared for them entirely at the Bishop's expense. After severe trials had proved their qualities and the worth of their enterprise, the generous response of the people of Louisville, added to their own constant labor, assured the success of this newest institution of the diocese.

Five years later, in June, 1848, Father Edward McMahon announced the transfer of the church and college of St. Joseph to the Jesuits and introduced his successor, Father Peter J. Verhaegen, S.J. In July, 1848, he was joined by those sent from the vice-province of Missouri to aid him in conducting the college. Their arrival and welcome may best be told from the diary of one of them, dated July 24, reading, in part: ". . . we went in a body to pay our respects to the venerable Bishop Flaget. We were conducted into his presence, and found him seated in a plain arm-chair, from which we soon perceived that it was difficult for him to rise without assistance. He was attended by his niece, an elderly maiden lady. When we announced ourselves as Jesuits from Missouri, on our way to St. Joseph's, Bardstown, he made an exclamation of thanks to God, and arose to receive us; but he tottered on his feet. With a voice trembling from feebleness and excess of emotion, now raised to a falsetto or soprano, and now scarcely audible, he proceeded to embrace each one of us. When my turn came I told him I was a Kentuckian, and one of his own spiritual children. 'My Kentucky child,' said he, and this he repeated several times, 'Welcome home! welcome, many times welcome to my diocese be the dear Jesuit fathers!' He went on to say, 'During the last two long years since they left St. Mary's college, I have prayed unceasingly to be permitted to see them back in my diocese before I shall be called out of this world. My prayer is granted. I have lived to see that day. . . .' He then sank back in his chair, quite overpowered with his feelings.

My Jesuit companions, who then saw the saintly old prelate for the first time, were much struck with his simple manners and his evident sanctity, no less than with his love of our society. We knelt to receive his blessing, in giving which so great was his emotion, he could scarcely utter the words of the formula; and then we departed, all of us deeply affected by what had occurred."¹

The debt of the college, when turned over to the Jesuits, had been reduced by Father McMahon to \$23,000. The Jesuits also established a free school in Louisville and the College of St. Aloysius. Late in December, 1848, a colony of about forty Trappists from France arrived in Louisville, and soon took possession of a farm of about sixteen hundred acres, purchased from the Sisters of Loretto. At Gethsemane, some fourteen miles from Bardstown, the Trappists finally made the establishment long desired by Flaget. In the year of Flaget's death this institution was raised to the rank of an abbey. On August 15, 1849, the cornerstone of the new Cathedral of the Assumption was laid, with the usual ceremonies witnessed by a large crowd. The Bishop could not leave his house now, but watched the scene from a balcony of his home and at its conclusion he weakly lifted his hand to bless the people assembled below.

Probably he did not see the anticlimax of the ceremony, for only a few witnessed it. The Cathedral project was really that of Bishop Spalding and was brought to a successful financial conclusion by his brother, Benedict J. Spalding. Bishop Spalding had two projects, the sale of the site of the first church of St. Louis, with the reinterment of the bones in its graveyard, and the building of the cathedral on the site of the second church of St. Louis. To both of these the old protopriest, Badin, vehemently objected and a coolness sprang up between him and Spalding. A few minutes after the crowds had left the scene of the dedication the few people remaining observed the old, bent, surplice-clad figure of Badin, who had been conspicuously absent from the ceremony, approach the site and walk all around the building. Those near enough to him heard the mumbled recitation of the *Miserere*. With that gesture he again shook the dust of Kentucky

from his feet, and stalked on board a boat for his old refuge, Cincinnati, and Bishop Purcell. He had disagreed with "his little Lordship" Chabrat's policies too, but the defilement of the first parish of Louisville, which he had mostly built, was the last straw.

Flaget was now unable to leave his room to say Mass or visit the church. This was a real hardship to him, although he had a signal given to him at the time of Benediction so he could take part in it from the balcony. His head ached constantly, his faculties became weaker, especially his memory, but his usual gaiety remained, as he often remarked, "I forget everything; could I but forget myself I would be a perfect man." Although his mind was failing and he could not think through a problem, it nevertheless was sound to the last and he could make a judgment on those things clearly presented to him. His head bothering him so, he took refuge in meditating on the crown of thorns of his Lord. In August, 1849, his shoulder, injured over three decades before at Detroit, suddenly swelled and turned black, and his limbs also swelled. A racking cough made the winter harder to bear, but his giant frame, which had so often shrugged off disease and illness, fought valiantly against the last enemy. With the first days of 1850, this year that hailed his eighty-seventh year, forty of them spent in the episcopacy and sixty-two in the priesthood, seemed to give hope of life, but it was like the false dawn.

But this was a year of summons to the Kentucky diocese. From over at St. Rose the episcopal call came to Father Joseph S. Alemany, who was consecrated that July as bishop of Monterey, becoming later archbishop of San Francisco. The Dominicans of St. Rose gave to the episcopacy during this period prior to the Civil War almost as many bishops as the Sulpicians had given in the first generation of the episcopacy. From St. Rose had gone Fenwick, the founder of the order in the United States, as first bishop of Cincinnati, Miles as first bishop of Nashville, Alemany as first bishop of Monterey, James Whelan second bishop of Nashville, and Thomas L. Grace as second bishop of St. Paul.

In October, 1850, the episcopal summons reached for the third time to a vicar-general of the diocese. As John McGill's parents were still living in St. Joseph's parish, as he had been identified

with it in youth and in education, and as his ordination had taken place in it only fifteen years before, McGill selected the old cathedral at Bardstown for his consecration, performed by Archbishop Peter R. Kenrick, assisted by Miles and Spalding, on November 10, 1850. For twenty-two years he was not only the learned but also the beloved Bishop of Richmond; he was somewhat of a link between the old and the new, for at his death James Gibbons, the future great cardinal, became bishop of Richmond. When the First Plenary Council of the United States took place two years later, John McGill sat among six American archbishops and twenty-four bishops; none of them could foresee that in a hundred years there would be almost as many archbishops in the country as there were bishops assembled there, nor that the bishops would number almost one hundred and sixty in 1952.

As John McGill went through the long ceremony of consecration so often witnessed before in this venerable Cathedral of Bardstown, he must have looked around to see if the giant, leonine figure of the great Patriarch of the West were hovering about to lift his hands in benediction. It was only nine months before, on February 11, 1850, that he had knelt with the others to receive that last blessing, as Benedict Joseph Flaget, with a gentle smile upon his face, went home to meet those who had gone before him — Archbishops Carroll, Neale, Maréchal, and Whitfield; the Bishops Egan, England, DuBourg, Rosati, Dubois, Fenwick, De Neckère, Cardinal Cheverus; his old friends, David and Bruté; the Sulpicians, Richard, Tessier, and Babad; his priests Nerinckx and Derigaud, Elder and Byrne and Horstman; his family; and his beloved Kentuckians, who had believed with him that there was One sent from God, and that “as many as received Him He gave the power of becoming sons of God.”

Footnotes

CHAPTER ONE

1. Spalding, Martin J., *Sketches of the Life, Times, and Character of the Rt. Rev. Benedict Joseph Flaget, First Bishop of Louisville*, p. 30 ff. Hereinafter referred to as Spalding, *Flaget*.
2. Spalding, *Flaget*, p. 33. Bishop Spalding erroneously states that Wayne had commended Flaget to George Rogers Clark, and every writer to the present has copied this mistake. A little thought upon the matter would have revealed the error. The famous Clark would not have been commanding a garrison on Corn Island. In fact, at this time he was down in New Orleans, trying to secure an army command from the French minister, Genet. His youngest brother, William, however, was serving under General Wayne and was in command of a small squad at Post Vincennes. Finally, in a letter Flaget wrote to Father Garnier on January 21, 1815 (in St. Mary's Seminary Archives), he made the following remark: "Three months ago, while having dinner with Gov. Clark, who has honored me with his friendship for more than twenty years, he told me that these nations [of Indians] which were near the source of the Missouri . . . seem to be of a humane, gentle, timid nature." So, that friendship went back to 1792! The mistake on the part of Spalding was a natural one. For his books on Flaget and Kentucky, Spalding had before him the yearly journals of Flaget, since lost. Probably in the reference to this incident in his journal Flaget wrote "Gov." or "Gen." Clark, and Spalding assumed it was the more famous Clark to which the reference was made. However, William Clark was also to be Governor and General.
3. Ruane, Joseph William, *The Beginnings of the Society of St. Sulpice in the United States (1791-1829)*, p. 11 ff.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
5. Guilday, Peter, *The Life and Times of John Carroll*, p. 371. Thomas Weld was one of the few prominent Catholics of England at this date, a friend of George III, the father of an English cardinal, and grandfather of another. His son, Thomas, Jr., raised to the cardinalate in 1830, was an altar boy at Carroll's consecration. Father Charles Plowden, one of Carroll's most faithful friends, was chaplain to the Weld's. See C. M. Anthony, "Lulworth Castle: Its History and Memories," *The Catholic Historical Review* (October, 1915), I, 243-257.

6. Guilday, Peter, *The Life and Times of John England*, I, 7 ff.
7. Spalding, Martin J., *Sketches of the Early Catholic Missions of Kentucky* . . . , Chap. II, "The Early Catholic Emigrants to Kentucky." Hereinafter referred to as Spalding, *Missions*.
8. Webb, Benjamin J., *The Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky*, p. 27 ff. Webb was a contemporary of Flaget and started the first diocesan newspaper. The material of his book first appeared as newspaper articles, and that partly accounts for the very poor organization of the book. Webb is not always completely accurate, especially in the matter of dates. However, he collected assiduously materials not otherwise found.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*, p. 157.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 158-159.

CHAPTER TWO

1. Badin to Bishop Carroll, Sept. 7, 1804. "The Church in Kentucky: Letters of the Rev. Stephen Theodore Badin to Bishop Carroll," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* (September, 1912), XXIII, No. 3, pp. 141-174.
2. Fournier to Carroll, November 22, 1796, Baltimore Cathedral Archives. Hereinafter referred to as BCA.
3. Fournier to Carroll, March 2, 1797, BCA.
4. Badin to Carroll, March 2, 1797, BCA.
5. Fournier to Carroll, August 28, 1797, BCA.
6. Spalding, *Flaget*, p. 82.
7. Salmon to Carroll, May 27, 1799, BCA.
8. Webb, *Centenary*, pp. 114-117.
9. Badin to Carroll, June 3, 1799, BCA.
10. *Ibid.*, June 3, 1799; February 20, 1799, BCA.
11. *Ibid.*, February 20, 1799, BCA.
12. *Ibid.*, February 10, 1804; *Records . . . of Philadelphia*, p. 148.
13. *Ibid.*, February 25, 1801; *Records . . . of Philadelphia*, p. 143.
14. *Ibid.*, February 28, 1804; *Records . . . of Philadelphia*, p. 150.
15. Badin to Bishop Neale, September 2, 1808, BCA.
16. Webb, *Centenary*, p. 179.
17. Badin to Carroll, October 5, 1805; *Records . . . of Philadelphia*, p. 167.
18. *Records . . . of Philadelphia*, p. 168.
19. In Baltimore Cathedral Archives.
20. Howlett, W. J., *Life of Rev. Charles Nerinckx* . . . (2 ed.), p. 154.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 195. This was written by Bishop Carroll to Joseph Peemans of Louvain.

CHAPTER THREE

1. Spalding, *Flaget*, pp. 47-54.
2. Flaget to his brother, November 28, 1808, St. Mary's Seminary Archives. Hereinafter referred to as St. Mary's.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*

5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*
8. BCA.
9. Carroll to Bishop Plessis of Quebec, October 15, 1810; Guilday, *John Carroll*, p. 588.
10. Flaget to his sister, December 8, 1810, St. Mary's.
11. Guilday, *John Carroll*, pp. 589-599.
12. Flaget to Simon Bruté, n.d., 1811, Mt. St. Mary's Bruté Collection, University of Notre Dame Archives. Hereinafter referred to as ND.
13. David to Bruté, June 2, 4, 1811, ND.
14. *Ibid.*, June 17, 1811, ND.
15. Spalding, *Flaget*, p. 71.

CHAPTER FOUR

1. Webb, *Centenary*, pp. 338-339.
2. David to Bruté, June 17, 1811, ND.
3. Spalding, *Missions*, pp. 189-190.
4. David to Bruté, June 17, 1811, ND.
5. Flaget to Bruté, October 28, 1811, ND.
6. Flaget to Carroll, August 22, 1811, BCA.
7. *Ibid.*, August 6, 1811, BCA.
8. David to Bruté, September 16, 1811, ND.
9. Fox, Sister Columba, *The Life of the Right Reverend John Baptist Mary David* (1761-1841), pp. 1-33.
10. David to Bruté, September 16, 21, 1811, ND.
11. *Ibid.*, January 9, 1812, ND.
12. Flaget to Bruté, August 25, 1811, ND.
13. David to Bruté, November 3, 1811, ND.
14. Contrary to Webb's statement, p. 269, that Flaget was in his diocese six years before he made any effort toward building or even planning a cathedral, Webb said that early in 1817 Bishop Flaget first authorized a subscription for this great project.
15. David to Bruté, July 18, 1811, ND.
16. Flaget to Carroll, August 22, 1811, BCA.
17. Flaget to Father John M. Tessier, December 12, 1811, St. Mary's.

CHAPTER FIVE

1. Flaget to Tessier, December 12, 1811, St. Mary's.
2. Minogue, Anna C., *Loretto Annals of the Century*, p. 34.
3. Howlett, W. J., "Bishop Flaget's Diary," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* (June, 1918), XXIX, No. 2, pp. 156-165.
4. McGill, Anna B., *The Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, Kentucky*, p. 20.
5. David to Bruté, July 12, 1813, ND.
6. James Gough to Bishop Carroll, May 4, 1808; Thomas E. Jenkins to Carroll, May 5, 1808, BCA.
7. Judge Twyman to Badin, March 18, 1808; Joseph James to Badin, May 2, 1808, BCA.

8. David to Bruté, January 9, 1812, ND.
9. Howlett, "Bishop Flaget's Diary," *loc. cit.*, pp. 168-169.
10. Badin to Chabrat, July 21, 1820, in Webb, *Centenary*, pp. 445-446.
11. Flaget to Bruté, July 20, 1812, ND.
12. *Ibid.*, February 5, 1812, ND.
13. David to Bruté, March 10, 1812, ND.
14. *Ibid.*, April 9, 1812, and April 16, 1812, ND.
15. Spalding, *Flaget*, pp. 112-113. These dates and complete coverage of Flaget's daily movements are taken by Spalding from the lost journals.
16. David to Bruté, March 10, 1812, ND.
17. Howlett, "Bishop Flaget's Diary," *loc. cit.*, pp. 247-248.

CHAPTER SIX

1. Spalding, *Flaget*, p. 141.
2. Fox, *David*, pp. 71-74.
3. David to Bruté, April 21, 1814, ND.
4. Flaget to Bruté, September 21, 1813, ND.
5. *Ibid.*
6. Ruane, *The Beginnings of the Society of St. Sulpice*. . . , p. 108 ff.
7. Fox, *David*, pp. 80-81.
8. Flaget to Carroll, October 10, 1814, BCA.
9. Carroll to Flaget, August 11, 1815, BCA.
10. Fox, *David*, p. 83.
11. David to Bruté, April 21, 1814, ND.
12. *Ibid.*, April 21, 1814, ND.
13. Spalding, *Flaget*, p. 130.
14. Flaget to Carroll, October 10, 1814, BCA.
15. Buley, R. C., *The Old Northwest: Pioneer Period, 1815-1840*, pp. 39-41, 78 ff.
16. Spalding, *Flaget*, p. 142.
17. However, the Council of Trent advocated the reception of the Eucharist at every Mass the faithful attended, expecting this to be generally on Sundays and feast days. Some theologians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries recommended no more than weekly Communion, while others, speaking of the Eucharist as spiritual nourishment, pleaded for daily Communion, e.g., De Molina, the Carthusian. Of course, the Jansenists were much stricter; they see in the Eucharist more of a reward than a nourishment. For this entire problem see E. Dubeauchy "Communion frequente," *Dict. de Theol. Cath.*, III, 515 ff., and Josef A. Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia* . . . (Wien, 1948), II, 437 ff. On Jansenism and frequent Communion see Albert de Meyer, *Les premières Controverses Jansénistes en France* (Louvain, 1919), 53 ff., 222 ff.
18. David to Bruté, June 21, 1811, ND.
19. Flaget to Father Duclaux, January 21, 1815, St. Mary's.
20. David to Bruté, June 26, 1815, ND.
21. *Ibid.*, June 26, 1815, ND.
22. Flaget to Tessier, April 7, 1815, St. Mary's.
23. *Ibid.*, August 8, 1815, St. Mary's.

24. *Ibid.*, April 7, 1815, St. Mary's. One does not wonder at Flaget's need for glasses when one sees the Breviary he used; it measures about 1½ by 3 inches.
25. O'Daniel, V. F., "Bishop Flaget's Report of the Diocese of Bardstown to Pius VII, April 10, 1815," *The Catholic Historical Review* (1915-1916), I, 305-319.

CHAPTER SEVEN

1. Browne-Olf, Lillian, *Their Name Is Pius, Portraits of Five Great Modern Popes*; Wiseman, Cardinal N. E., *Recollections of the Last Four Popes*.
2. Guilday, *John Carroll*, Chap. 34.
3. Ruskowski, Leo F., *French Émigré Priests in the United States (1791-1815)*, p. 22.
4. Flaget to Archbishop Leonard Neale, February 20, 1816, BCA.
5. Flaget to Bruté, December 6, 1816, ND.
6. David to Bruté, September 13, 1816, ND.
7. Spalding, *Flaget*, p. 166 (December 23, 1815).
8. Flaget to Neale, June 26, 1816, BCA.
9. David to Bruté, September 13, 1816, ND.
10. Spalding, *Flaget*, pp. 144-146; condensed there from Flaget's *Journal* of 1816.
11. David to Bruté, September 13, 1816, ND.
12. Flaget to Bruté, September 18, 1816, ND.
13. Gourde, a piaster (a coin). Also stands for a gourd, made of leather. Could Flaget have been using this term as slang for a "buck" or a dollar? The contents of the letters suggest that he was talking in terms of dollars each time.
14. Flaget to Bruté, June 11, 1816, ND.
15. Godefroy had an interesting career in this country; he taught at the seminary, painted a few pictures, and designed some buildings. The Maryland Historical Society Residence had a fine portrait of him done by Rembrandt Peale. See Davison, C. V., "Maximillian Godefroy," in *Maryland Historical Magazine* (September, 1934), XXIX, 175-212.
16. Flaget to Bruté, August 1, 1816, ND.
17. Fox, *David*, pp. 84-85.
18. Flaget to Bruté, September 18, 1816, ND.
19. David to Bruté, October 15, 1816, ND.
20. Tessier to Chabrat, September 6, 1816, ND.
21. Flaget to Bruté, February 19, 1817, ND.
22. February 8, 1816. Rothensteiner, John, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis*, I, 252-254.
23. David to Bruté, May 7, 1817, ND.
24. Rothensteiner, . . . *St. Louis*, I, 367.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 256-257, quoted from Rosati, *Life of De Andreis*.
26. David to Bruté, May 7, 1817, ND.
27. Spalding states that he was ordained January 1, 1817, but there is conflicting data on this.
28. Easterly, Frederick J., *The Life of the Rt. Rev. Joseph Rosati*. . . , p. 40.

29. Maes, Camillus P., *The Life of Reverend Charles Nerinckx*, pp. 332-367.
30. Flaget to [?] Châbrat, November 12, 1817, ND.
31. David to Bruté, December 12, 1817, ND.
32. Flaget to Bruté, March 7, 1818, ND.

CHAPTER EIGHT

1. Webb, *Centenary*, p. 244.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 146. Webb states that Abell was ordained on August 14, 1818, but according to Spalding's *Flaget* the Bishop was on his Detroit visitation and in Buffalo on this day. Flaget was gone from Bardstown (to St. Louis) between December 12, 1817, and February 21, 1818, and then again (to Detroit) from May 15, 1818, to June 30, 1819. David was not consecrated until August, 1819. Therefore, any ordinations occurring in 1818 had to take place in that three-month period of February 21 to May 15. In a letter written to Father Garnier in Paris, on April 15, 1818, Flaget intimates that he has recently ordained two men, as he says: "... two priests are just now departing from this house i.e. the seminary; he David has there two deacons and three subdeacons, two minors, etc. . . ." Ganihl came to St. Thomas in 1817 as a deacon, and was perhaps ordained with Derigaud in 1817; no account of the ordination of Derigaud mentions Ganihl, but neither does the account of Abell's ordination mention Charles Coomes. In light of the later career of Coomes this is not surprising. All accounts of the ordination of Elder and Byrne state that this took place in September, 1819, but there is no mention of the ordination of De Parcq at the same time although there is evidence that he was also ordained in 1819.
3. David to Bruté, December 1, 1818, ND.
4. "An Interdict of Bishop Flaget" in *Researches of American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* (January, 1896), XIII, No. 1, 81-90.
5. Spalding, *Flaget*, p. 185.
6. *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertizer*, Friday, August 1, 1834. Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library.
7. Spalding, *Flaget*, pp. 194-195.
8. The documents concerning this treaty, in the National Archives of Washington, D. C., reveal no action of the government concerning missions, nor is there any mention of Flaget. Nor is there any mention of Flaget in the papers of Cass at the Burton Historical Collection or at the William L. Clements Library, nor in those of Parke and Jennings at the Indiana Historical Society.
9. David to Bruté, December 1, 1818, ND.
10. Spalding, *Flaget*, p. 198, and Letters of Flaget to Francis Navarre of Detroit, dated October 8, 1819, and September 28, 1820, which tell Navarre of the progress of his son at the seminary. He was among the young men Flaget brought back with him on his return from Detroit. F. Navarre Papers, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library.
11. Ruane, . . . *St. Sulpice*, p. 192, taken from the contemporary "Entrance List" which is a register of students.

12. The details and dates of this visitation are based on Spalding's *Flaget*, pp. 183-205. Spalding, of course, based this on the lost *Journals*.
13. Webb, *Centenary*, pp. 272-273.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 272-273.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 349-350.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 341-342.
17. Flaget to Bruté, May 3, 1821, ND.
18. David to Bruté, February 26, 1822, ND.
19. Flaget to Bruté, June 26, 1822, ND.
20. Sometimes called Father Austin and undoubtedly the "Father Hosten" Spalding notes as ordained in 1820.
21. Nathan H. Hall was involved in the Transylvania University controversy of this period. Niels Henry Sonne's *Liberal Kentucky, 1780-1828* is a treatment of this dispute but his thesis that all liberal thought is contained in this seems far fetched. The title of this book is misleading.
22. David to Bruté, February 26, 1822, ND.
23. Spalding, *Flaget*, p. 236, as noted in the Bishop's *Journal* for May 20, 1821.
24. Webb, *Centenary*, p. 346.
25. Flaget to Maréchal, April 29, 1820, St. Mary's.
26. Fox, *David*, pp. 115-116 (July 25, 1820).
27. Flaget to Maréchal, April 29, 1820, St. Mary's.

CHAPTER NINE

1. O'Daniel, Victor F., *The Right Rev. Edward Dominic Fenwick, O.P. . . .*, p. 247.
2. As vicar-general of Bishop Fenwick and provincial of the American Dominicans it could be expected that Father Wilson would carry out what Flaget had always considered one of the best reasons for nominating order men for the episcopacy — that of obtaining men for the diocese. The ironic thing, of course, was the raiding of Flaget's own diocese for those priests. Father Wilson returned to St. Rose, where he died in the summer of 1824. Father Hill then became Fenwick's vicar-general. Hill was a convert, who had been married, but had no children. On September 3, 1828, he died of the fever at Canton, Ohio; it is said he was the first priest to die in that state.
3. According to Webb the loss of the two secular priests, however, might not have been a severe blow. Webb relates that his fellow priests regarded Ganihl "as somewhat erratic and shiftless" (p. 452) and that Vincent Badin "was a man of no great talents, learning, or force of character. . . . He was an amiable man and a good working priest" (p. 443). Ganihl was a deacon when he came to this country sometime in 1817. For over a year he was a professor at the seminary, and, in 1819, when Badin left for Europe, he was sent to Holy Cross where he remained until his departure with Fenwick. "He was a man of excellent mental gifts and of great learning." While at Holy Cross Ganihl was challenged to a debate by an Elder Elkins. Ganihl was the first speaker, and the assembled crowd was rewarded by a learned exposition, with frequent references to Latin and Greek authorities, as he explained Catholic doctrines. His erudition

was too much for Elkins; at the end of the priest's discourse Elkins suddenly turned around, elbowed his way out of the crowd and rode away. Ganihl served Bishop Fenwick for only a short time at Monroe, Michigan, where the people would not support him. He went to Mobile, and returned to Kentucky in 1838. For the next two years he served on the faculty of St. Joseph's College and then returned to Europe. Vincent Badin also served in the Northwest under Gabriel Richard, and at the latter's death in 1832 he took over St. Anne's parish in Detroit. He returned to France in 1843 and died in 1845.

4. Nolan, Hugh J., *Francis Patrick Kenrick, Third Bishop of Philadelphia . . .*, pp. 57-58, for the entire letter.
5. Flaget to Bruté, May 3, 1821, ND.
6. October 28, 1822. Entire letter given in Fox, *David*, pp. 207-209.
7. Flaget to Bruté, May 3, 1821, ND.
8. *Ibid.*, February 27, 1820, ND. We seem to have only the letters of Flaget and Dubois on this affair, those of Bruté are probably destroyed.
9. David to Bruté, June 5, 1826, ND.
10. *Ibid.*, May 6, 1822, ND.
11. *Ibid.*, May 6, 18, 1822, and subsequent letters, ND.
12. *Ibid.*, December 23, 1825, ND.
13. *Ibid.*, February 28, 1832, ND.
14. *Ibid.*, *n.d.* [1834?], ND.
15. *Ibid.*, February 4, 1823, ND.
16. Webb, *Centenary*, pp. 344-345.
17. David to Bruté, May 6, 1822, ND.
18. *Ibid.*, August 27, 1823, and Spalding, *Flaget*, p. 238.
19. *Researches of American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* (July, 1894), XI, 134-137.
20. McAvoy, Thomas T., *The Catholic Church in Indiana, 1789-1834*, pp. 153-178. McAvoy devotes one chapter of his fine work to Champonier in Vincennes.
21. Spalding, *Flaget*, pp. 245-248.
22. David to Bruté, February 4, 1823, ND.
23. *Ibid.*, March 17, 1825, ND.
24. Flaget to Bruté, April 8, 1825, ND.
25. David to Bruté, March 30, 1825, ND.
26. *Ibid.*, June 5, 1826, ND.
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Ibid.*, June 14, 1823, ND.
29. *Ibid.*, September 24, 1825, ND.
30. Flaget to Bruté, January 3, 1825, ND.
31. Flaget to Henry Clay, September 21, 1825; Mayo, Bernard, ed., "Bishop Flaget and Henry Clay" in *Catholic Historical Review* (July, 1941), XXVII, No. 2, 210-213.
32. Flaget to Bruté, January 3, 1825, ND.
33. David to Bruté, June 14, 1823, ND.
34. *Ibid.*, September 24, 1825, ND.
35. Flaget to Bruté, April 8, 1825, ND.

36. *Ibid.*, November 12, 1825, ND.
37. *Ibid.*, January 3, 1825, ND.
38. David to Bruté, December 23, 1825, ND.
39. Spalding, *Flaget*, p. 302, states that "in 1825 Flaget received a letter purporting to be from Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the U. S. Government, requesting him to furnish the religious statistics of his Diocese. The communication turned out to be a forgery; but in reply to it the prelate gave a summary account. . . ." On September 24, 1825, David wrote Bruté that "the Secretary *pro tem* of the United States has just written to Msgr. to ask him for an account of his literary establishments in order to apply to them a part of the sum which the government has consecrated to the encouragement of public education." About this same time (September 21, 1825) Flaget wrote Henry Clay that he had just sent a long report to Preston S. Loughborough, who in 1825 was Secretary of State, *pro tem*, of Kentucky. From this it is evident that both David and Spalding were somewhat confused.
40. Spalding, *Missions*, Chap. VI, makes an interesting comparison to the other sects. He took his statistics contained therein from *An Outline of the History of the Church in the State of Kentucky . . . containing the Memoirs of David Rice . . . corrected and arranged by Robert H. Bishop . . .* (Lexington, 1824). According to this book there were 434,644 whites and 126,732 slaves in Kentucky in 1820. Of these 21,680 were Baptists, 20,850 Methodists, 4200 of other sects. Not including children under 10 years of age there were then 327,137 to be brought under Christianity (according to this author) although he did not consider at all Catholics or Episcopalians. This historian also stated that if the 200 preachers of Kentucky preached every Sunday to 200 people there would be only 40,000 worshipers in all. Spalding then wondered what had happened to all those claimed as converted in the "Great Revival."
41. Flaget lost Charles Coomes sometime in this period and Derigaud died in 1827. The other two priests may have been Dr. Cellini and O'Bryan but it is uncertain.
42. Mayo, *loc. cit.*

CHAPTER TEN

1. David to Bruté, February 19, 1827, ND.
2. *Ibid.*, October 9, 1827, ND.
3. The parish of St. Rose revealed the greatest number of Communicants (800) and confirmations (260); St. Pius in Scott County had 250 Communicants. The Cathedral parish had 450, St. Thomas 150, St. Louis of Louisville 50, Holy Cross 495, and St. Charles 450. The accounts and statistics given in Spalding, *Missions*, pp. 288-300, in the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* and in the private letters of the bishops at the time are in general agreement although there are minor variations, as, for instance, David told Bruté, October 9, 1827, that there were 250 confirmations at St. Rose, while one of the other accounts gives 260.
4. Rothensteiner, . . . *St. Louis*, I, 425-426.
5. David to Bruté, February 19, 1827, ND.

6. *Ibid.*, January 27, 1828, ND.
7. *Ibid.*, June 2, 1827, ND.
8. *Ibid.*, October 9, 1827, ND.
9. *Ibid.*, August 17, 1827, ND.
10. Spalding, *Flaget*, p. 262.
11. Guilday, *John England*, II, 115-116.
12. Luke Tiernan to Henry Clay, May 27, 1828, Henry Clay Papers, Library of Congress.
13. Webb, *Centenary*, pp. 298-302.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 295-297.
15. Spalding, *Flaget*, p. 263.
16. Flaget to Bruté, June 1, 1827, ND.
17. David to Bruté, June 2, 1827, ND.
18. *Ibid.*, August 17, 1827, ND.
19. *Ibid.*, February 8, 1830, ND.
20. Flaget to Bruté, February 22, 1830, ND.
21. *Ibid.*, February 22, 1830, ND.
22. Nolan, *Kenrick*, pp. 78-97.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

1. Fox, *David*, p. 144.
2. Flaget to Bruté, December 27, 1833, ND.
3. Flaget to Chabrat, n.d., 1833, Loretto.
4. David to Bruté, October 4, 1831, ND.
5. Fox, *David*, p. 148.
6. David to Bruté, October 4, 1831, ND.
7. *Ibid.*, October 4, 1833, ND.
8. *Congressional Debates*, 22nd Congress, 1st Session, pp. 2201-2203.
9. Mayo, *loc. cit.*
10. David to Bruté, July 8, 1833, ND.
11. David to Bruté, July 8, 1833, ND.
12. Buley, *op. cit.*, I, Chap. 5.
13. Flaget to Bruté, December 27, 1833, ND.
14. Guilday, *John England*, II, 261.
15. *Ibid.*, II, 266.
16. Guilday, *The National Pastorals of the American Hierarchy 1792-1919*, p. 78.
17. Flaget to Bruté, December 27, 1833, ND.
18. Fox, *David*, p. 158.
19. David to Bruté, May 11, 1834, ND.
20. *Ibid.*, June 15, 1834, ND.
21. Flaget to Bruté, August 6, 1834, ND.
22. David to Bruté, November 21, 1834, ND.
23. *Ibid.*, August 30, 1834, ND.
24. *Ibid.*, August 8, 1834, ND.
25. Quoted from Sister Mary S. Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur*, p. 213.

CHAPTER TWELVE

1. Spalding, *Flaget*, p. 308.
2. Wiseman, *The Last Four Popes*, p. 388.
3. Spalding, *Flaget*, p. 312.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 315.
5. David to Bruté, May 11, 1834, ND.
6. David to Bruté, July 23, 1834, ND.
7. David to Bruté, August 13, 1833, ND.
8. Webb, *Centenary*, Chaps. XXI, XXII.
9. Hardy, Sister Mary Antonella, ed., "Loretto, Bishop Flaget and Sister Eulalia Flaget" in *Records of American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* (June, 1925), XXXVI, No. 2, 188-201.

EPILOGUE

1. Webb, *Centenary*, pp. 433-434.

Bibliography

I. ARCHIVAL SOURCE MATERIAL

Mt. St. Mary Bruté Collection, University of Notre Dame Archives
Flaget Collection, St. Mary's Seminary Archives, Baltimore
Miscellaneous Collections, Baltimore Cathedral Archives
Loretto Archives, Loretto, Kentucky
Nazareth Archives, Nazareth, Kentucky
Henry Clay Papers, Library of Congress

II. PUBLISHED SOURCE MATERIAL

- Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*. 1822 — , Lyons, 1822 —.
- "The Church in Kentucky: Letters of the Rev. Stephen Theodore Badin to Bishop Carroll," in *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* (September, 1912), XXIII, No. 3, 141-174.
- Concilia Provincialia Baltimori Habita ab anno 1829 usque ad annum 1849. Concilium Plenarium Totius Americae Septentrionalis Foederatae Baltimori Habitu Anno 1852* (Baltimore: John Murphy Co., 1851-1853), 2 vols in 1.
- Hardy, Sister M. A., ed., "Loretto, Bishop Flaget and Sister Eulalia Flaget," in *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* (June, 1925), XXXVI, No. 2, 188-201.
- Howlett, W. J., ed., "Bishop Flaget's Diary," in *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* (March, 1918), XXIX, No. 1, 37-59 (June, 1918), XXIX, No. 2, 153-169 (September, 1918), XXIX, No. 3, 231-249.
- Instructions on the erection of four new Catholic Episcopal Sees in the United States, and the Consecration of their First Bishops . . .* (Baltimore: G. Dobbin and Murphy Co., 1810).
- "An Interdict of Bishop Flaget," in *Researches of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* (January, 1896), XIII, No. 1, 81-90.
- Mayo, Bernard, ed., "Bishop Flaget and Henry Clay," in *The Catholic Historical Review* (July, 1941), XXVII, No. 2, 210-213.
- O'Daniel, Victor F., ed., "Bishop Flaget's Report of the Diocese of Bardstown to Pius VII, April 10, 1815," in *The Catholic Historical Review* (1915-1916), I, 305-319.

III. SECONDARY WORKS

- Buley, R. Carlyle, *The Old Northwest: Pioneer Period 1815-1840* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1950), 2 vols.
- Easterly, Frederick J., *The Life of the Rt. Rev. Joseph Rosati, First Bishop of St. Louis, 1789-1843* (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1942).
- Fox, Sister M. Columba, *The Life of the Right Reverend John Baptist Mary David (1761-1841)* (New York: United States Catholic Historical Society, 1925).
- Garraghan, Gilbert J., *The Jesuits of the Middle United States* (New York: America Press, 1938), 3 vols.
- Godecker, Sister Mary Salesia, *Simon Bruté de Rémur, First Bishop of Vincennes* (St. Meinrad, Ind.: St. Meinrad Abbey Press, 1931).
- Guilday, Peter, *The Life and Times of John Carroll, Archbishop of Baltimore (1735-1815)* (New York: The Encyclopedia Press, 1922).
- *The Life and Times of John England, 1786-1842. First Bishop of Charleston* (New York: The America Press, 1927), 2 vols.
- *The National Pastorals of the American Hierarchy (1792-1919)* (Washington, D. C.: National Catholic Welfare Council, 1923).
- Hickey, Edward J., *The Society for the Propagation of the Faith. Its Foundation, Organization, and Success (1822-1922)* (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1922).
- Howlett, W. J., *Life of Rev. Charles Nerinckx . . .*, 2 ed. (Techny, Ill.: The Mission Press, 1940).
- Lamott, John H., *History of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati, 1821-1921* (New York: Frederick Pustet Co., 1921).
- Lord, Robert H., et al., *History of the Archdiocese of Boston in the Various Stages of Its Development 1604 to 1943* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1944).
- MacCaffrey, James, *History of the Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century (1789-1908)* (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1909), 2 vols.
- Maes, Camillus P., *The Life of Reverend Charles Nerinckx* (Cincinnati: Robert H. Clarke & Co., 1880).
- Mattingly, Sister M. Ramona, *The Catholic Church on the Kentucky Frontier, 1785-1812* (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1937).
- McAvoy, Thomas T., *The Catholic Church in Indiana, 1789-1834* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940).
- McGill, Anna Blanche, *The Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, Kentucky* (New York: The Encyclopedia Press, 1917).
- Messmer, Sebastian, ed., *The Works of the Right Reverend John England* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1908), 7 vols.
- Minogue, Anna C., *Loretto Annals of the Century* (New York: The America Press, 1912).
- Nolan, Hugh J., *The Most Reverend Francis Patrick Kenrick, Third Bishop of Philadelphia, 1830-1851* (Philadelphia: American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, 1948).
- O'Daniel, Victor F., *The Right Rev. Edward Dominic Fenwick, O.P., Founder of the Dominicans in the United States, Pioneer Missionary in Kentucky,*

- Apostle of Ohio, First Bishop of Cincinnati* (Washington, D. C.: The Dominicana, 1920).
- *Father of the Church in Tennessee, Richard Pius Miles, O.P.* (New York: Frederick Pustet Co., 1926).
- *The Light of the Church in Kentucky, Samuel Thomas Wilson, O.P.* (Washington, D. C.: The Dominicana, 1932).
- Rothensteiner, John, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis In Its Various Stages of Development from A.D. 1673 to A.D. 1928* (St. Louis, 1928), 2 vols.
- Ruane, Joseph W., *The Beginnings of the Society of St. Sulpice in the United States (1791-1829)* (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1935).
- Ruskowski, Leo F., *French Émigré Priests in the United States (1791-1815)* (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1940).
- Spalding, John Lancaster, *The Life of the Most Rev. M. J. Spalding, D.D., Archbishop of Baltimore* (New York: Christian Press Association Pub. Co., 1873).
- Spalding, Martin J., *Sketches of the Early Catholic Missions of Kentucky; from Their Commencement in 1787 to the Jubilee of 1826-7 . . .* (Louisville: B. J. Webb & Brother; John Murphy — Baltimore, 1844).
- *Sketches of the Life, Times, and Character of the Rt. Rev. Benedict Joseph Flaget, First Bishop of Louisville* (Louisville: Webb & Levering, 1852).
- Tourscher, Francis E., *The Hogan Schism and Trustee Troubles* (Philadelphia: Peter Reilly Co., 1930).
- Webb, Benjamin J., *The Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky* (Louisville: Charles A. Rogers, 1884).
- Wiseman, Nicholas, *Recollection of the Last Four Popes and of Rome in Their Times* (London, 1858).

Index

- Abell, Robert, 105, 226, 232, 267; character of, 163 f; in cholera epidemic (1832), 271; enters seminary, 73; given tonsure, 112; illness of (1820), 186; ordination (1818), 162; pastor of St. Louis, Louisville, 214; preaches in Kentucky House of Representatives, 298; sermon for consecration of Cathedral, 176 f; to Vincennes with Flaget, 215; visitation to Tennessee with Flaget, 188; visits Europe, 243 f
- Acquaroni, John, 146, 149
- Aleman, Joseph S., 310
- American Catholic Church, *see* Catholic Church in United States
- Angier, Robert A., 36, 96
- Badin, Stephen Theodore, 256, 287, 309 f; attempts to collect funds for Bishop's trip to Kentucky, 52; conditions for sick calls, 29; considered for Bishop of Kentucky, 40; on dancing, 19; dispute over Church land, 83 f; early life, 16 f; erects new parishes, 28; Flaget's relations with, 197; in Kentucky, 17 f; life from 1819 on, 87; personality and character, 30 f
- Badin, Vincent, 105, 198
- Bamber, (Sister) Patricia, death, 273
- Bardstown, Kentucky, consecration of Cathedral in 1819, 178; considered for see, 39 f; early benefactors, 23; early settlers, 11; extent of diocese, 60, 61; number of Catholics, 23; translation of see to Louisville, 304; *see also* Diocese of Bardstown
- Barrières, Michael Bernard, 17
- Beaven, (Sister) Mary, 81, 138-139
- Benton, Senator Thomas H., 156
- Bertrand, Louis, 166, 170
- Blanc, Anthony, 157, 166, 250, 258, 275
- Brothers of the Mission, 233
- Bruté de Remur, Simon, 94, 167; comments on David's writings, 187; custom duties, 226; description of, 287; Flaget's visit, 243; his qualities, 204; leaves Baltimore for Emmitsburg, 144; leaves Sulpician Society, 204, 205; life, friendship with David and Flaget, 120 f; named first Bishop of Vincennes, 281 f; sails from Europe, 50; success at Mt. St. Mary's, 241; theologian to England, 250
- Byrne, William, 174 f, 180, 232, 264, 266; death, 273; life, accomplishments, 181 f
- Caretti, Joseph, 146, 149; death of, 151
- Carrico, Teresa, 81, 138, 139
- Carroll, Esther (Sister Sophia), 214
- Carroll, John, consecration, 8; death of, 132, 135; opinion of Badin, 16, 27; opposes Sulpician college as dangerous to Georgetown, 6; problems as Prefect-Apostolic, 8; progress of Church under, 7 f, 132 f; proposes Flaget for episcopacy, 45 f; reply to Flaget on David for see of Philadelphia, 111; report on religion in U. S., 7; and see of Kentucky, 39; takes away De Rohan's faculties, 14
- Carroll, Margaret (Sister Columba), 214
- Cartwright's Creek settlement, 11
- Cass, Lewis, Governor, 169, 170
- Cathedral of Bardstown, 70, 92, 175,

- 176, 228 f; blessing of cornerstone, 142-143; consecrated, 178; debts on, 227
- Cathedral of St. Louis, 287
- Catholic Church in United States, Church property and trustee problems, 218 f; conference of bishops (1810), 53; discrimination against, 7; in 1815, 9; in 1830, 1840, 258 f; first encyclical letter (1810), 54; first four sees, 47; First Provincial Council (1828), 247 f; Fourth Provincial Council, 305; Hogan schism, 202 f; intolerance, 7 f; national councils proposed, 193; need for priests, 101; petition for electing own prelate, 8; progress under Carroll, 132 f; Provincial Council of 1812 postponed, 99; question of land titles, 84 f; regulations promulgated by American bishops in 1810, 53; Second Provincial Council (1833), 275 f; sees and bishops, 1820-1830, 201 f; 1784, 7; Third Provincial Council (1837), 299 f; trustee problem, 84, 218 f
- Chabrat, Guy I., 178, 232, 275, 278, 281; administers diocese, 296; faults, physical prowess, 197 f; goes to France, 184 f; named coadjutor, 260 f; opposition to, as coadjutor, 262 f; ordained, 68; ordains priests, 300; resignation from coadjutorship, 306; sails from Europe, 50; sued by Mr. Alvey, 246; as superior of Sisters of Loretto, 222 f; threatened recall, 143 f; troubles at St. Pius, 219 f
- Champonier, John Leo, 185, 215 f, 232, 246
- Chazelle, Peter, 265, 298
- Cheverus, John, 99, 100, 109, 134, 135; consecration, 50; first Bishop of Boston, 47; transferred to France, 201
- Chicoisneau, J. B., 6, 16
- Cholera epidemic of 1831-1833, 271 f
- Cincinnati, proposed as see, 190
- Cissell, Charles J., 252, 264
- Civil disability against Catholics, 7
- Clark, William, 3, 116; confused with brother George, 313 n
- Clarke, Isabella (Mother), 223
- Clay, Henry, 226, 231, 232, 233, 243, 267 f; friendship with Flaget, 197
- Communion, attitude toward frequent, 122; Council of Trent, 316 n
- Concanen, Richard Luke, 47
- Connolly, John, 134, 202
- Conwell, Henry, 242, 254; made second Bishop of Philadelphia, 111; troubles in Philadelphia under, 202 f
- Coomes, Charles, 74, 105, 186, 232, 252; excommunication, 163; ordination, 162
- Coomes, Linus, 264
- Dahmen, Francis, 146, 150, 236
- Dant, James, 76, 80, 166
- David, John B. M., 205; consecrated Bishop, 178; death, 303; description of, and duties, 179 f; early work in Kentucky, 65 f; founds Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, 80 f; Harold affair, 248 f; health and duties, 251 f; health and intellectual pursuits, 229 f; leaves Europe, 6; missions in Maryland, 6; named Bishop of Mauricastro and coadjutor, 157; named second Bishop of Bardstown, 260 f; nominates for vacant sees, 202; proposed for Bishop of Cincinnati, 191; proposed for Bishop of New Orleans, 109 f; reading, scholarship, 206 f; rumors for bishopric of Kentucky, 45; Second Provincial Council 1833, 275 f; Sisters of Charity, 71; Sulpicians ask his recall, 106 f; writings of, 187 f
- De Andreis, Felix, 146, 147, 149, 150, 152, 156; on life in Kentucky, 151
- De Lamennais, Félicité Robert, 206 f, 231, 295 f
- De Lamennais, Jean-Marie, 207
- De Neckère, Leo, 157, 238, 258 f
- De Parcq, David A., 162, 166, 232
- Derigaud, James, 105, 112, 232; brought by Flaget from France, 50; death, 227, 239; ordained, 153; superior of Brothers of the Mission, 233
- De Rohan, William, 14 f, 27
- Detroit, account of, in 1816, 169 f; proposed as see, 190
- Diocese of Bardstown, in 1824, 232 f;

- extent of, 60, 61; population, area, and number of priests in 1815, 124; report to Pius VII on, 129; transferred to Louisville, 303 f; *see also* Bardstown
- Diocese of Vincennes, 281 f
- Dominican Sisters, in Kentucky, 166, 233
- Dominicans, in Kentucky, 33, 36 f, 129, 141, 310; in Ohio, 164, 198 ff; quarrel of, with Badin and Nerinckx, 37
- Dubois, John, 7, 103, 205, 242, 249; leaves Sulpicians, 204; made Bishop of New York, 202; opposition to, as Bishop of New York, 241
- DuBourg, Louis William, 108 f, 136, 137, 147; asks temporary see at St. Louis, 148; creation of new bishoprics, 190 f; establishes Sulpician college at Havana, 43; in Europe, 146; fears loss of Flaget, 47; given coadjutor, 202; installation of, as Bishop of Louisiana, 158, 159; in Kentucky, 156 f; resigns bishopric, 237; unfortunate acceptance of Ignésli, 224
- Dunand, Father Marie Joseph, 115, 116
- Durbin, Elisha J., 213, 232, 264 f
- Eccleston, Samuel, 258, 300; nominated coadjutor to Baltimore, 275
- Egan, Michael, consecration, 50; death of, 107; named first Bishop of Philadelphia, 47
- Elder, George, 180 f, 224, 225, 232, 239, 264, 299
- Emery, James Andrew, 5, 48
- England, John, first meeting of Flaget, 250; and First Provincial Council, 247 f, 249 ff; founds *Catholic Miscellany*, 230; and Hogan schism, 202 f; named Bishop of Charleston, 201; proposals for priests from Ireland, 264; Provincial Council of 1833, 275 f; visits Kentucky, 256; on Whitfield's consecration, 242
- 164, 203, 249, 257, 259 f, 310; consecrated Bishop of Ohio, 194; death, 271; early life, 33; proposed for bishopric of Ohio, 191 f; takes Dominicans into Ohio, 198 f
- Flaget, Benedict Joseph, on Archbishop Carroll, 45; arrival at Bardstown, 57; as he was in 1822, 196; begs for increase in faculties, 64; calls first diocesan synod (Kentucky), 1812, 90; Carroll's description of, 45; on Catholicism in U. S., 45; and Chabrat's threatened recall, 143 f; Chaplain for General Anthony Wayne, 2; cholera epidemic, 271 f; comes to America, 16; consecrates fourth Archbishop of Baltimore, 242; consecrates Kenrick, 255 f; consecration, 50 f; death, 311; description of, 58 f; diary, 83; diocese of Vincennes created and Bruté consecrated, 281 f; discussion of Bishop for Indiana, St. Louis, Florida, 217 f; dispute with Badin over land, 83 f; early life, 48 f; in Europe, 290 ff; fights David's recall by Sulpicians, 106 f; fights David's removal for bishopric of New Orleans, 111; First Provincial Council, 247 f; first visitation to Illinois and Indiana territory (1814), 113 f; first visitation of Ohio (1812), 97 f; at Georgetown, 42; goes to St. Louis for DuBourg's reception, 156 ff; Harold affair, 248 f; in Havana, 43, 44; his breviary, 317 n; his Cathedral, 69 f, 92; and Hogan schism, 203; Jubilee of 1825, 234 f; leaves Europe, 6; nominates for vacant sees, 202; postponed Provincial Council, Baltimore, 1812, 94; problem of ordination dates, 318 n; proposed transfer of, to St. Louis, 137; reinstated as bishop, 261; reluctance to accept bishopric, 46 f; report to Pius VII, 128 f; resigns see, 260; returns from Europe, 301; tribute paid to, in Congress, 268 ff; at Vincennes, 3 f; visitation of Detroit (1818), 166 f; visitation of Indiana (1818), 183; visitation of Tennessee, 1821, 188;
- Fenwick, Benedict I., 42, 190-191, 249 f; made Bishop of Boston, 202
- Fenwick, Edward D., 54, 91, 96, 98,

- visitation through Ohio and Michigan (1818), 168
 Flaget, Eulalia, 185, 302 f
 Fouché, Simon, 221, 225, 232, 240
 Fournier, Michael, 20 f; death of, 26 f
 Frankfort, Kentucky, 62
 Friends of Mary at the Foot of the Cross, *see* Sisters of Loretto
- Gallicanism, 207 f
 Gallipolis, O., 17
 Gallitzin, Prince D., 190 f; suggested as Bishop of Bardstown, 137
 Gardiner, (Mother) Frances, 164, 165; in cholera epidemic (1833), 272
 Gardiner, Harriet, 81, 138, 139, 217
 Georgetown College, 6, 42, 66, 108, 279
 Gethsemani, Kentucky, school of, 166; Trappists at, 309
 Godefroy, Maximillian, 142, 175
 Grassi, John, S.J., 193
 Gregory XVI, 292 f; and Flaget's return to U. S., 301
 Guillet, Urban, 32
 Gwynn, Mary, 81, 164
- Hardin's Creek Settlement, 11
 Harrissart, Evremond, 225, 232, 242
 Haseltine, Joseph, 175, 224, 239
 Havern, Sally, 79
 Henni, John Martin, 251
 Higdon, (Mother) Agnes, 139, 220
 Hogan schism, 202 f
 Horstman, Philip, 166; death of, 214; ordained priest, 186
 Hosten, *see* Horstman, Philip
 Howard, Thomas, 69, 72, 88
 Hughes, John, 258, 259, 300
 Hutchins, John B., 198, 300
- Illinois, status at time of Flaget's visit in 1814, 118
 Indiana, number of Catholics in (1815), 130; visitation of (1819), 183
 Indians, gathering in 1818, 171 ff; in Illinois in 1814, 119; meet Flaget in Michigan territory in 1818, 170; near Vincennes in small pox epidemic of 1792, 4; regard for Flaget, 4
- Jansenism, 207 f
 Jeanjean, Auguste, 158, 166, 250
 Jesuits in Kentucky, 264 f, 298 f, 308 f
 Jubilee, 1825, 234 f
- Kaskaskias, Illinois, 119
 Kelley, Daniel, 252
 Kenrick, Francis Patrick, 211, 224, 226, 231, 232, 240, 248, 249 f, 276; comes to Bardstown, 189 f; Jubilee of 1825, 234 f; named Coadjutor Bishop for Philadelphia, 253 f; sought for Ohio, 199; writing on theology, 210
 Kenrick, Peter R., 307, 311
 Kentucky, Catholic education in, 165; Catholics and Churches in (1840's), 307; Catholics in, educational institutions, 232 f; cholera epidemic of 1833, 272; colonies of Catholics in, 12; congregations in, 61, 62; description of mission life in, 151; early settlers, 9 f, 20, 24; first Catholic publication, 297; first ordination of native priests, 162; number of Catholics in (1793), 18; number of Catholics in (1805), 29; number of Catholics in (1815), 130; number of Catholics in (1825), 236; St. Joseph's College, 181; St. Joseph's Seminary, 180
- Lalumière, Simon, 285
 Lancaster, James M., 252, 299
 Leo XII, Pope, 200 f
 Levadoux, Michael, 2, 5, 49; recalled to Europe, 6
 Lexington, Kentucky, 62, 63
 Loretto, Sisters of, *see* Sisters of Loretto
 Louis Philippe of France, attitude to Flaget, 293; gifts of, 267
 Louisville, Bardstown *see* transferred to, 304; Cathedral of, 309
- Maréchal, Ambrose, 93, 106, 135, 136, 144, 191 f, 201, 204, 217, 247; death, 241; leaves Europe, 6; recalled to Europe, 6
 Martial, Bertrand, 225, 232, 240
 McGill, John, 241, 296 f, 301, 310 f
 McMahon, Edward, 308
 Michigan, number of Catholics in

- (1815), 130; visitation through (1818), 167 f
- Miles, Joanna, 222
- Miles, Richard P., 129, 141, 259, 300, 310
- Montgomery, Samuel L., 96
- Morgan, Ellen (Sister Clare), 80
- Mt. St. Mary's, Emmitsburg, 7, 121, 204, 205, 241, 253
- Nagot, Francis Charles, 5, 6
- Neale, Leonard, 134, 135
- Negroes and the Church, 253; number at St. Genevieve (1814), 117; postulants at Loretto, 233
- Nerinx, Charles, 107, 232; back to Europe in 1820, 184; Church builder, 35 f; death, 223; desires to move West, 91; early life and coming to Kentucky, 32 f; his Sisterhood and plans to go to Europe in 1814, 127, 128; interests and religious pursuits, 35; plans for industrial school, 182; refuses post of Administrator of Louisiana, 40; retires to Missouri, 222; returns from Europe, 154 f; Sisters of Loretto, 77 f
- New Orleans, Diocese of, 136-137
- O'Brien, Cecily, 105
- O'Connell, Ellen, 104, 139
- O'Connor, Sister Scholastica, 185, 220
- Ohio, Dominicans in, 164; first visit of bishop in (1812), 97, 98; number of Catholics in (1815), 130; visitation through (1818), 168
- Olier, John James, 5
- Olivier, Father Donatien, 113, 129, 156
- Petit, Nicholas, 265 f, 280, 282, 285
- Picot, L., 252, 279 f, 282
- Pittsburgh, petition for priest, 20
- Pius VII, Pope, 128, 132, 133
- Portier, Michael, 158, 249; consecrated bishop, 202
- Pottinger's Creek settlement, 10, 15
- Powell, William E., 300
- Power, John, 241
- Provincial Council, first (1829), 247 f; fourth (1840), 305; second (1833), 275 f; third (1837), 299
- Purcell, John B., 258, 259 f, 263, 275, 278, 286 ff, 301
- Résé, Frederick, 200, 259 f, 300
- Reynolds, Ignatius, 105, 163, 224, 226, 232, 235, 239, 285, 296 f; becomes second Bishop of Charleston, 306; birth, education, ordination, 214, 215; confessor at Nazareth, 281; given tonsure, 112; injured by a student, 229; president of St. Joseph's College, 240; resigns presidency of St. Joseph's College, 263 f
- Rhodes, (Mother) Ann, 79
- Rhodes, Mary, 76 f
- Rhodes, Nancy, 79
- Richard, Gabriel, 2, 6, 49, 93, 127, 142, 167, 203, 226, 228; death, 271
- Rogers, John, 112, 175, 228
- Rogers, Joseph, 252
- Romeuf, Julian, 50, 106
- Rosati, Joseph, 146, 149, 152, 154, 156, 157, 158, 166, 204, 284; at Bardstown on way to Provincial Council, 249; consecrated coadjutor to DuBourg, 202; meets with Flaget to discuss better representation to Rome, 271; meets with Flaget to divide parishes of Illinois, 244 f; plans consecration of Cathedral in St. Louis, 286 ff; troubles with DuBourg, 236 f
- St. Joseph's College, 181, 224 f, 232, 238, 239 f, 263 f, 265, 280, 299, 308
- St. Joseph's Seminary, 180, 232
- St. Louis, consecration of Cathedral, 286 ff; prepared for coming of its bishop, 148 f; proposed see, 137; receives Bishop DuBourg, 159
- St. Mary's College, Baltimore, 108, 121, 205 f; Kentucky, 266, 280, 298
- St. Mary's Congregation, Kentucky, 61
- St. Mary's country school, Kentucky, 232
- St. Stephen's Farm, 60; Loretto Sisters at, 223

- St. Sulpice, Society of, 4 f, 43, 93, 204; establishes Mt. St. Mary's, 7; importance of, to U. S., 7
- St. Thomas College, Kentucky, 227
- St. Thomas Minor Seminary, 180, 227, 232
- St. Thomas plantation, 125, 140, 153
- Salmon, Anthony, 22 f; death, 26
- Sansbury, Angela, 219
- Sansbury, Elizabeth, 219
- Sansbury, Maria, 219
- Savine, Francis, 115, 129
- Schaeffer, Peter, 67, 68, 74, 105, 160, 161, 162; ordained priest, 112
- Seminary, St. Joseph's, beginnings, 68 f; routine, 74, 75, 105
- Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, 81 f, 103, 104, 138-139, 154, 164, 165, 220 f, 233, 238 f, 302; in cholera epidemic, 271 f; recalled from Vincennes, 285 f
- Sisters of Loretto, 76 f, 127, 138, 154, 156, 165 f, 184, 185, 222 f, 233; cholera deaths, 273
- Spalding, Ann, 139
- Spalding, (Mother) Catherine, 81, 165, 219, 220, 221, 238, 271, 302
- Spalding, Martin John, 183, 252, 278, 297, 299; coadjutor to Flaget, 307
- Spink, (Sister) Angela, 165, 271 f
- Stuart, Christina, 138
- Stuart, Mildred, 139
- Sulpicians, *see* St. Sulpice, Society of
- Suttle, Harriet (Sister Elizabeth), 139, 165
- Taney, Roger Brooke, 250
- Tarleton, (Sister) Columbia, 220
- Tennessee, number of Catholics in (1815), 130
- Tessier, John M., 5, 106, 107, 126, 143 f, 145, 247, 250
- Thayer, John, 24 f
- Trappists in Kentucky, 32, 33, 309
- Tuite, William Raymond, 36, 40
- U. S. Catholic Miscellany*, 230 f
- Vandeveld, James O., 155
- Vincennes (Indiana), 113; Champonier in, 215 f; created diocese, 281; plea for Flaget's return, 4; plea for priest, 1; proposed as *see*, 190; state of, in 1792, 3; state of religion there, 282
- Vincetians in Kentucky, 146 f
- Walmsley, Charles, consecrates Carroll, 8
- Wathen, (Mother) Julianna, 222
- Wayne, General Anthony, treatment of deserters, 2
- Webb, Benjamin, 297 f; on Flaget, 58 f
- Wells, Elizabeth, 81, 82
- Whelan, Charles, 12 f
- Whitfield, James, 241 f, 249, 252, 254, 259; death, 288; and John England, at Council of 1833, 275 ff
- Wickliffe, Charles, congressman, 267 f
- Wilson, Samuel Thomas, 36, 61, 164, 166, 191, 193, 198, 199, 210; Dominican Sisterhood, 219
- Young, Nicholas D., 164

Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library



1 1012 01043 7350